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AS this paragraph is written the record since February 1st is as follows: German submarines have destroyed one American ship with amazing courtesy, fifty-seven enemy ships, and thirty-four other neutral ships. The small nations have therefore suffered 34 per cent of the damage. In addition American ships, with few exceptions, are in port, terrorized. How much other shipping has been frightened away we have no way of estimating. But it is probably no exaggeration to say that if we add together neutral ships sunk and neutral ships terrorized, the war against neutrals is as drastic as the war against the belligerents. Germany is making a new and greater Belgium of the high seas. This is the overt act and it is plain as day. It may produce no outrage as spectacular as the Lusitania. That is only because terrorism is successful. For what is happening on the ocean is what happened after Belgium. The lesson of frightfulness has been learned. Just as Holland and Scandinavia dare not resist Germany on land with Belgium before their eyes, so neutral shipping is running away from the submarine out of sheer terror. This is the fact which our government must recognize and act upon, for this will be an evil world in which to live if all neutrals must skulk because one nation scowls.

IN the face of it we cannot act for ourselves alone. It is probable that before long Britain will be able to protect practically all her own ships. It is just barely possible that Germany will respect those American vessels which venture into the danger zone. The protection of the smaller neutrals remains, and it is our sacred obligation. If we are to have any part in the guaranties of peace which the President foreshadowed in his address to the Senate, we cannot now purchase immunity for ourselves at the expense of the smaller neutrals. The memorandum issued by the State Department in regard to Germany's attempt to bargain is at least reassuring on this point. It does absolutely refuse to distinguish between American and other interests at stake. The President cannot stop there. Having refused to negotiate he cannot permit the terrorization of the neutrals to go on. The situation requires a dramatic defiance of the German order and a resolute breaking down of her campaign.

THE least we can do immediately is to put the frightened ships under government orders, arm them, and send them out on a prescribed order with notice to all the world that they are sailing on such and such a date by a certain route to a specific port, and that all the armed forces of this nation are behind them. If that is war, let it be war. At least the spell of the German terror will be broken. If it is possible to put other neutral shipping under the same protection it should be done, though we can well understand that the neutrals adjacent to Germany may not dare to permit it. The point is that we are dealing with a mental condition, with a state of fear which the strength of this nation alone can shatter. The longer that terror is allowed to accumulate the harder it will be to dispel. Only a bold course

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immediately adopted can do it. A fleet of American vessels authorized by our government to sail through the war zone would challenge that state of fear which Germany is bent on creating.

THE President need not hesitate because of public opinion in this country. Those who are loudest at the moment in behalf of submitting to fear are loud only because the mass of the people are silently waiting for leadership. Americans would instantly respond to a deliberate defiance of Germany's threats. They would rejoice at being members of a nation which rose after long and just patience to answer so deliberate an enemy of western civilization. The time to strike is now. In another fortnight the whole campaign may collapse, because the British navy has defeated it. The German government may then offer to "concede" out of deference to us. That thing should not be allowed to happen. Germany should not be allowed to experiment with frightfulness and then quit if it doesn't pay. She should be made to feel at once that she has doubled her enemies because she has tried it, and that they fear her least when she threatens most.

HOWEVER important under ordinary circumstances may be the opportunities and functions of American diplomatic agents to foreign nations, it would be difficult to exaggerate either the scope or the gravity of the work which will have to be done by the new representative of this country to Mexico. Mr. Henry P. Fletcher is accredited to a government which is intensely suspicious of the United States and whose suspicions have been kept irritated not only by the facts of the relationship between the two countries but by the lack for several years of any regular official channel of communication. Under these conditions the task of reëstablishing confidential communications and of using them to improve the relations between the two governments looks sufficiently discouraging; but discouraging as it is, it has one hopeful aspect. The officials of the Mexican government are men upon whom a profound impression can be made by a mixture of firmness, candor and tact in personal dealings with them. They will accept and understand much from the mouth of a man whom they trust and who consults their susceptibilities, which they would reject either from a man whom they distrusted or from a written document. Mr. Fletcher's task consequently is that of making his own personality count in removing the prevailing irritation and misunderstanding between his own government and that of Mexico. It will be a difficult job, but fortunately he is extremely well qualified for it by experience in the diplomatic service, by his abilities and by his own personal desire to win for his country an increase of confidence from the Mexicans.

THE safety of Belgium has all along been a very powerful reason for preserving a technical neutrality. But for the sheer genius of Mr. Hoover and his associates in using the prestige of America as a means of driving forth the belligerents to facilitate relief, Belgium and northern France would be in a worse condition than Poland. They are more dependent on the import of food. The triumph of the C.R.B. is that it has prevented starvation, not merely relieved suffering. It has kept one whole nation and part of another comparatively fit. It is no exaggeration to say that while the Allies were fighting for the political liberation of these territories, Mr. Hoover and his friends were holding the populations intact for the day of their deliverance. Now the Americans are expelled from Belgium, and the work passes to other hands. Whether smaller neutrals can do the work remains to be seen. Here we shall see the ultimate best of decency and respect for mankind. If Germany breaks faith here and the relief stops she will not soon wipe out the stain. The responsibility on the Allies and on us is no less great. They cannot cease to send supplies even at the risk that some fraction of them is diverted to the enemy, for the preservation of Belgium is the symbol of their case.

UN-AMERICAN is a word which should be applied not to the pacifist groups who are seeking by argument to influence the government's behavior in this crisis, but to those of their critics who accuse them of conspiracy, refuse to recognize their good faith and do not answer their arguments. If we have a good cause for war we do not need to stampede any of our countrymen into it; and a sincere desire for peace even under extreme provocation is in itself more respectable than the overbearing manner which we detest in Prussian junkers and endure in American militarists. Nevertheless we must in turn ask the pacifists themselves to face the facts dispassionately, and not to be led through blindness or emotion seriously to embarrass the government in a delicate situation. If anyone, not content with agitation in this country, has directly conveyed to Germany the idea that the nation is ready to take up negotiations again without a prior cessation of unrestricted submarine warfare, he has undermined the effectiveness of the action by the President, taken with the assent of Congress. Such a course would not only be unrepresentative of the country, and an anti-democratic interference with

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the policy of its duly elected representatives, but it would deprive us of our one remaining chance of influencing Germany against the policy which may involve us in war. Germany will certainly continue the ruthless submarine campaign if she is deceived into thinking that we may accept it passively.

BEFORE continuing the agitation to influence American opinion against taking risks which may plunge us into the war, the pacifists should make sure that they understand the realities of the situation. England and France are in large measure dependent on the United States both for munitions of war and for food. It is Germany's purpose to cut off these supplies; and if she is successful, England will be starved into submission and the Allies will be defeated. If we assent to the submarine warfare, if we order our ships to stay home, or if we refuse protection so that their owners keep them at home, we shall by this action establish the German blockade of American shipping without causing Germany the trouble of firing a single torpedo. On the other hand, if we send ships and take measures to protect them, we run the risk of collision with Germany. The inescapable choice is therefore either to aid the German plan or to risk war for the sake of the Allies. Impartial action is now physically impossible. While legal neutrality might still be safeguarded, it would be safeguarded at the cost of possible German victory. There is no escape from aiding by our present action either the Central Powers or the Allies. Let no pacifist advocate abstinence from war now on the ground of impartiality. Those who try to be impartial at this moment are helping German militarism as truly as von Tirpitz himself. The question for a pacifist to ask himself is whether he is willing to assume responsibility for a German victory — with all that German victory would imply.

IF war comes press censorship will follow, and at first the censor will do strange things. He will be working for ends he cannot clearly define by means with which he is wholly unfamiliar. Military information of importance may be withheld from an enemy by the publication of dispatches in this form, but they will look queer until we get used to them: "Lincoln, Neb., Feb. 30.—Mr. Bryan said to-day: 'The — is cast. From this moment we are all ——. Our shores were invaded at dawn. Before sunset one ——— volunteers will spring to arms.'" Dashes are less cumbersome than [word or words deleted by the censor]. In certain cases they may even heighten the effect produced by the news. As in this case: "—— ——, L. I., Feb. 30.—'Colonel —— gave out the following sentiment this afternoon: '— and my —— —— will go.'" Every American will understand, yet the size of our land forces will not have been betrayed.

NOTHING could be more pertinent at this time than a stock-taking of the condition of labor in this country. On Monday Mr. Meyer London brought up in the House of Representatives a resolution providing for a commission to investigate unemployment and the advisability of a national insurance fund. The measure was opposed by Mr. Mann, of Illinois, and Mr. Moore, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Moore's objection was that the bill would strike at the very foundation "—not of the principles of government, but —"of the existing insurance organizations in the United States." It would be "the first real step" toward the adoption of a "socialistic program." Mr. Mann stated that so far as he was concerned he was "sick and tired of these commissions." They only encouraged "the wild opinions of crazy men who want to advertise themselves by getting into the headlines in newspapers." In voting down Mr. London's proposal on no other grounds than these, the House showed how little it is persuaded by argument and how persistently it can overlook an opportune suggestion.

THE report of President Graham of the University of North Carolina puts in vivid relief the inexplicable failure of a growing state to recognize its own best intellectual wealth. North Carolina has acted toward its university exactly as if it had not yet learned that such an institution performs perhaps the most permanently valuable of all state governmental functions. For the past two years this most useful university, with over twelve hundred students, has had for maintenance only $115,000 a year and only $30,000 a year for permanent improvements. Its income from all sources was only $220,661, as against the University of Virginia's $560,258, with a student body actually smaller than North Carolina's. At least eleven southern state institutions have larger working incomes per student. That of the University of Mississippi is more than twice as large. It is an extraordinary record for legislative stupidity that President Graham uncovers. North Carolina cannot plead the excuse of poverty. For, taking her taxable property as it is, out of the tax on every thousand dollars' worth she appropriates just $.18 for university maintenance, as against Mississippi's $.39 and Nebraska's $1.98. President Graham appeals to men

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of wealth to help the university. But the real call should be to the people as represented in the legislature.

The Defense of the Atlantic World

WE argued last week that it was dangerous and misleading to believe that the United States was taking up arms as the champion of neutral rights under international law. It is no less misleading to believe that we are taking up arms in defense of our own rights alone. If America enters the war on any such flimsy basis as that, it will fight a sterile war, and peace will leave us without the least assurance that we have accomplished anything. The fact is that the Germans have understood America's position in the war far better than we ourselves have understood it, and if we are to deal with them effectively, if we are to fight them well, it is of the first importance that we should understand the business as they feel it. It is a bad general who does not imagine himself in the enemy's place. It is a weak nation that would dribble into war not knowing why, or how, or whither.

All along the Germans have seen two great truths: first, that British command of the sea has become absolute, and has abolished the neutral rights which interfere with it; second, that America's policy has been to protest feebly and without effect against Britain while Germany has been held by threat of war from using the submarine fully to relieve the pressure. The Germans have pointed out quite accurately that the result of this policy has been to close the road to Germany and hold open the road to Britain and France. The German highway we have allowed the Allies to bar, the Allied highway we were ready to keep open at the risk of war. We have not merely been committed theoretically to selling munitions and supplies to any one who can come and fetch them. We have in fact permitted the Allies to cut off Germany, we have been in fact prepared for war to deliver munitions and foodstuffs to the Allies. Stripped of all its technicalities this is the issue, and the Germans have not been slow to recognize it.

A number of things have obscured the issue. The first and most spectacular is that no American lives have been lost by the action of the Allies, and consequently their illegalities have never seemed monstrous to most of us. Nevertheless inhumanity is not the real difference. No American lives would have been lost had we acquiesced in Germany's policy as we have in Britain's. American lives would almost certainly have been lost had we refused to agree to Great Britain's "blockade" as we have to Germany's "war-zone" decree. If Britain said we must put into a certain port we have put into it, if Britain said we must not use certain areas of the North Sea we have not used them, if Britain said we could do only a certain amount of trade with Holland, that is all the trade we have done. Nor is there any reason for regarding the submarine war as more deadly than the blockade of Germany. It is well to remember that the German people are suffering anguish as a result of it, that their children's vitality is being sapped, that there is an alarming increase of tuberculosis within the German Empire. The blockade and the submarine are both terrible weapons, and the blockade is the more effective of the two. In choosing between them we are not choosing between legality and illegality, nor even perhaps in the last analysis between cruelty and mercy.

No one can say that this statement of the case does not give Germany her due. It errs if anything in giving her the extreme benefit of every doubt. But when her case has been made with all allowances we are more than ever sure that this nation does right in accepting the blockade and defying the submarine. It does right because the war against Britain, France and Belgium is a war against the civilization of which we are a part. To be "fair" in such a war would be a betrayal. We would not help Germany to victory. We cannot stand idle as long as there is the least chance of her winning one. If Germany's cause were the better one, this policy would be as outrageous as the Germans believe it is. It is because we cannot permit a German triumph that we have accepted the closure of the seas to Germany and the opening of them to the Allies. That is the true justification of our policy, and the only one which will bear criticism.

It has been obscured for us also by a number of things here at home. We are an inveterately legalistic people, and have veiled our real intentions behind a mass of technicalities. The reason for this legalism just now is to be found in something besides our intellectual habits. We have wanted to assist the Allies and hamper Germany, but we have wanted also to keep out of war. Our government therefore has been driven to stretch technicalities to the breaking point. We have clothed the most unneutral purposes in the language of neutrality. But we have never had any right to expect that we could go on for ever without facing the consequences. Having started on the road of assistance to the Allies we have to follow it through. So when we talk about American honor being involved we mean just this: that

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since we have created an unneutral policy we cannot now abandon it because it is dangerous. Our honor is involved only because in the last thirty months we have made a choice which requires us to keep open the seas that lead to the western Allies. Had our judgment of the issues of the war been favorable to Germany, we would with honor have followed a different policy. Had Britain, for example, been the aggressor, and the violator of Belgium, we could with perfect honor have broken the blockade and acquiesced in the submarine war.

This basic truth has been clouded for us by something more than our legalism. The radical pro-Allies especially along the eastern seaboard have raised the absurd legend that the policy of the administration was either pro-German or at least neutral in effect. Fastening all their attention on the dramatic patience of the President, they often seemed to forget entirely the drastic effects of his inactivity in regard to the blockade. They never seemed able to realize that the decision not to break the encirclement of Germany is one of the great strategic facts of the war. It may indeed be the most decisive victory the Allies have won, and it has earned for us the dangerous hostility of the German people.

Only by a clear grasp of the situation and its gigantic consequences can we steer our course now or in the future. We have chosen to render the Allies definite assistance, negatively by allowing them to close the seas to Germany, positively by insisting that the seas be kept open to them. They must be kept open. This means that to frighten ships away is as much an overt act as to sink them. It means that to sink Norwegian and Dutch ships is as intolerable as to sink American ships. It means that our fundamental interest in this crisis is not a complicated system of rights but a definite and practical and tangible end. The world's highway shall not be closed to the western Allies if America has power to prevent it.

We do not hesitate to say that this should be American policy even though submarines were capable of successful, humane "cruiser warfare." We do not hesitate to say—we have believed it and said it since the beginning of the war—that if the Allied fleet were in danger of destruction, if Germany had a chance of securing command of the seas, our navy ought to be joined to the British in order to prevent it. The safety of the Atlantic highway is something for which America should fight.

Why? Because on the two shores of the Atlantic ocean there has grown up a profound web of interest which joins together the western world. Britain, France, Italy, even Spain, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian nations, and Pan-America are in the main one community in their deepest needs and their deepest purposes. They have a common interest in the ocean which unites them. They are to-day more inextricably bound together than most even as yet realize. But if that community were destroyed we should know what we had lost. We should understand then the meaning of the unfortified Canadian frontier, of the common protection given Latin-America by the British and American fleets.

It is the crime of Germany that she is trying to make hideous the highways by which the Atlantic Powers live. That is what has raised us against her in this war. Had she stood on the defensive against France and Britain, had she limited the war to the Balkans and the eastern front where it originated, and clearly thrown in her lot with the western nations, she would have had their neutrality and probably their sympathy. But when she carried the war to the Atlantic by violating Belgium, by invading France, by striking against Britain, and by attempting to disrupt us, neutrality of spirit or action was out of the question. And now that she is seeking to cut the vital highways of our world we can no longer stand by. We cannot betray the Atlantic community by submitting. If not civilization, at least our civilization is at stake.

A victory on the high seas would be a triumph of that class which aims to make Germany the leader of the East against the West, the leader ultimately of a German-Russian-Japanese coalition against the Atlantic world. It would be utter folly not to fight now to make its hopes a failure by showing that in the face of such a threat the western community is a unit.

It would be a great mistake to suppose, however, that we are dealing with a single-minded Germany. We wage war on Germany as long as she commits her destiny to those who would separate her from the western world. By rights Germany should be a powerful and loyal member of the Atlantic world, and she will be if this war is effectively fought and wisely ended. Our aim must be not to conquer Germany as Rome conquered Carthage, but to win Germany as Lincoln strove to win the South, to win her for union with our civilization by the discrediting of those classes who alone are our enemies. It is no paradox and no sentimentality to say that we must fight Germany not to destroy her but to force her and lure her back to the civilization in which she belongs. She is a rebel nation as long as she wages offensive war against the western world.

We do not believe that the bulk of the German people or even the better part of her civilian

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leaders honestly hope to overthrow us. They are gambling we believe on the prospect of an early peace. But if by any chance the submarine should succeed, the party of von Tirpitz would be invincible. We cannot therefore take any chances of allowing the campaign to succeed. It must be made to fail in two ways: by demonstrating that the sea can be kept open, and by enlisting our strength on the side of the Allies. That would be a German failure indeed because it would be clear then that the assault on the West had merely doubled the power of the West.

These, we believe, are the main causes why we are being drawn into the war, the main reasons why we should enter it, and the main objects we should pursue. There could be no greater error than that voiced by Senator Borah when he said, "It ought to be distinctly understood that we are interested alone in protecting our neutral rights as a neutral nation, and that what we have done and all that we may do is for that purpose and no other." A few moments reflection will show that the issue never has been one of neutral rights, that to fight for them alone would be to isolate ourselves from our natural Allies and leave us exposed after the war, and finally that no form of action can be devised which will vindicate all neutral rights, or even those which Germany alone has violated. If we put the matter on the basis of neutral rights we shall never know whether we have vindicated them or not, and our participation in the war would be as futile as a duel of honor.

What we must fight for is the common interest of the western world, for the integrity of the Atlantic Powers. We must recognize that we are in fact one great community and act as a member of it. Our entrance into it would weight it immeasurably in favor of liberalism, and make the organization of a league for peace an immediately practical object of statesmanship. By showing that we are ready now, as well as in the theoretical future, to defend the western world, the cornerstone of federation would be laid. We would not and could not fight to exclude Germany from that league. We would not and could not fight for a bad settlement. The real danger to a decent peace has always been that the western nations would become so dependent on Russia and Japan that they must pay any price for their loyalty. That danger is almost certainly obviated by our participation. For when the peace conference begins some time toward the end of 1917, as it most certainly will, the final arbitrament between liberalism and reaction will be made by the relative power of each. If the liberal forces have the most strength left it is they who will decide the reorganization of the world.

Lincoln in 1917

EARLY in November, 1864, immediately after his reëlection, President Lincoln made a brief speech upon the results of the election which compares in substance, if not in form, with the Gettysburg address and the Second Inaugural. In a few pregnant phrases he sketched what the peculiar dangers were which are bound to beset a democracy when engaged in a serious war. "It has long been a grave question," he said, "whether any government not too strong for the liberties of its people can be strong enough to maintain its own existence in great emergencies." He considered that the recent election had for the time being demonstrated the ability of the American people to sustain a strong government without any sacrifice of liberty. But he knew that on every future emergency a test no less dangerous and exigent would have to be faced. "What has occurred in this case," he said, "must ever recur in similar cases. Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good. Let us therefore study the incidents of this as philosophy to learn wisdom from, and none of them as wrongs to be revenged."

Again the American people are confronted by a grave national emergency. In our moment of searching trial we cannot do better than to follow his advice and study the incidents both of the Civil War and the existing crisis as philosophy to learn wisdom from. It is the more desirable to follow this advice, because during the past two years the issues and incidents of our Civil War, and the personal relation of Mr. Lincoln to them, have been wilfully and grotesquely misinterpreted. Partisans have found chapter and verse in the Lincoln record and scripture for every phase of pacifist irresponsibility and of militarist obsession. The smoke and heat thrown off by the conflagration have obscured the clear and congruous outlines of Mr. Lincoln's own attitude and philosophy. Let us see whether we cannot resurrect something of the real meaning and of the real man.

We should remember, in the first place, that Mr. Lincoln insisted upon fighting to resist the secession of the South from the Union. Although one of the most humane men in the world, who was the despair of his generals because he would not give his personal consent to the execution of deserters, yet he did not flinch from a decision which involved his fellow countrymen in the prolonged calamity of one of the most desperate and destructive of wars. His refusal to yield did not

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look as inevitable in the fall of 1860 as it does to-day. Then as now the nation was enervated by uncertainty and distracted by conflicting counsels. Abolitionists like Garrison wanted to avoid war at any cost and to allow the erring sisters to depart in peace. Republican leaders like Seward were willing to enter into arrangements with the southern leaders which would perpetuate the house divided against itself and reduce the nation to a hyphenated alliance between slave and free states. But Lincoln would have nothing to do with Crittenden compromises. The Republican party had been organized to prevent the spread of slavery within the Union. He had been elected expressly for the purpose of carrying this policy into effect. He refused absolutely to place himself and his party in the situation of solemnly proclaiming a policy and then of accepting a measure of conciliation which dishonored all its promises and renounced all its objects. He would avoid war if possible; he would do nothing to provoke it; but he would not seek to avoid it by abandoning one inch of the ground assumed by the Republican party as the consequence of almost forty years of southern aggression. It was a moment when difficulties, fears and scruples could not be permitted to interfere with an ultimate decision, when the morale of a great people depended upon resolute and imperturbable fulfilment of declared purposes in action.

Yet although he would not flinch from fighting he had something in him which prevented him from being infected by the psychology of war. War is repugnant to a democracy, not merely because it is wasteful, barbarous and hideous, but because the state of mind of a nation at war suppresses or discourages the application of ideas to business and politics upon which the democratic fulfilment depends. It is the perfect example of that dangerous, costly, headstrong and imperative action which seems to demand, as the condition of its success, the utter subordination of the variety and humor of life to a grim puritanism of immediate achievement. It insists on the undivided service of the material, emotional, intellectual and moral resources of a people. A nation at war is intolerant of dissent or contradiction, of hesitation or patience, of any tendency to mitigate emotion with reflection or supplement action with open-minded research. Lincoln never yielded to this constraint. Because he insisted on fighting rather than compromising, and because he would not abandon the fight until the purposes for which it was begun were achieved, he has been credited with the hypnotism of emotion and the absolutism of dogma so characteristic of European statesmen of to-day. But Mr. Lincoln's absolutes were always under control and were always tempered by kindliness of feeling and by an inquisitive openness of mind.

When he advised his fellow countrymen to study the incidents of the war, not as wrongs to be revenged but as philosophy to learn wisdom from, he was preaching precisely what he practised. His speeches will be searched in vain for a single sentence which attacked the Southerners with harsh, bitter, or intemperate words. He not only felt kindly towards them, but in thinking about them he was scrupulously considerate and fair. Because they had by their own aggressive acts brought this war on and because they were fighting for the perpetuity of legalized human bondage, he was not tempted either to outlaw them or condemn them to punishment. He foresaw the futility of drawing up an indictment against a people with the intention of making them suffer for their transgressions. His behavior in this respect was superior to that of many of his contemporaries, not only because of his essentially humane imagination but because his intellectual grip upon the political issues of the Civil War was far more comprehensive, exact and profound than theirs. In those days, as in these, there were people who believed that because one side was more right than the other, the war had no object except to make the right prevail. By subordinating political to moral considerations, they over-simplified the problem and so increased the difficulty of its solution. Mr. Lincoln was, consequently, sharply criticized for vacillation and hesitation, for allowing his policy to be dictated by expediency and for his refusal to cut all political knots with the sword of a moral imperative. But he knew better than his critics. They were condemning him for his most salutary quality. He was only seeking to grasp the situation as a whole, to keep all of its complicated aspects in his mind at the same time, and to arrange them in the order of their relative importance. Surrounded as he was by the passions and obsessions of a desperate war, he never budged from his ordinary practice of patiently waiting until he possessed all the available facts and then of applying to them the searchlight of cool, disinterested and purposed thinking.

His peculiar greatness did not consist merely in his kindness and magnanimity of feeling, or in his ultimate stability of purpose, or in his penetrating, surefooted and indefatigable intelligence. It consisted in the extraordinary fact of a successful working combination of all these qualities in one man. He achieved for himself a mutually helpful relation among lively human sympathies, a firm will and a luminous intelligence. He used his in-

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telligence to enlighten his will, and his will to establish the mature decision of his intelligence. His formal judgments were charged with momentum and his actions with sympathy and understanding. Because of this many-sidedness and balance he answered the question in his own life which in the post-election speech he had put to the American people. In the case of an individual, as in the case of a nation, it is always doubtful whether an authoritative government not too strong for the liberties of its members can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies. The government of Mr. Lincoln's mind was strong enough to maintain its own integrity during the great test, but at the same time it left the liberty of his other members not only intact but vigorous and operative. In the present emergency, no American citizen can by his own efforts secure to his country a salutary combination of government and liberty, of resolution and enlightenment; but all of us can at least do something, however imperfectly, to create some such combination in our own lives and to welcome any evidence of it in others. Inasmuch as the American nation has inherited the priceless possession of a national hero who succeeded in keeping alive during a war the finest spiritual flowers of a democratic society, a prevailing indifference to his advice and example during the present national emergency would be as shabby a piece of backsliding as could be committed by a pretentiously patriotic people.

A Policy in Vocational Education

NOW that the passage of the Smith-Hughes bill is assured, interest moves to the distribution of this federal subsidy for vocational continuation and part-time schools. For the actual sums appropriated, even the maximum which will be available in nine years, are too small to be of constructive significance. Indeed there is something grotesque about the solemn and arduous study which went into the passage of this timid educational bill by a Congress which could appropriate a full third of a billion for armaments. The Smith-Hughes bill has all the aspect of a pious wish rather than the beginning of a thorough national policy in education. There was nothing revolutionary in this principle of federal aid. The principle was established by the Morrill act of 1862 and recently confirmed by the Smith-Lever bill for agricultural education. The halting character of this new legislation must be explained partly by the novelty of vocational training in America and by the extremely confused condition of mind about it.

We scarcely know yet how to institute a vocational education that will make out of our youth effective workers and at the same time free and initiating citizens. The hopeless lack of coördination between industry and our educational system blocks and bewilders our efforts. In working towards a solution we meet two very real perils. When we attempt a coördination we run the risk of turning the public school into a mere preparatory school for factory, store and workshop, turning out helpless workers riveted by their very training to a rigid and arbitrary industrial life. The better trained they are, or at least the more intense their specialization, the greater will be their subjection. Organized labor fears, and not unjustly, that a public vocational education might be the means of overcrowding the labor market and thereby "furnishing strike-breakers to industry." This is always the danger when we attempt to adjust our training too tightly to existing industrial conditions. On the other hand, if we try to evade this danger and make the young worker's training more general, so that a number of fields of industrial opportunity will be open to him, we may leave him more helpless than ever, for he has no assurance of being fit for the very concrete demands of skill that paying industry will make upon him.

This is the dilemma. If the organization of vocational training is left in charge of the representatives of the employers, educators fear, and fear rightly, that the first result will ensue. If it is left exclusively in the hands of educators, the employers fear the other danger. Vocational education in this country has, therefore, run its uncertain course through experiments in continuation schools, "pre-vocational" courses in the regular schools, trade courses, "coöperative" courses, until a certain scepticism has been aroused in the minds of professional educators and the interested public whether we can institute a workable system at all in our present public school. Scepticism has meant hesitation. In spite of the propaganda and survey work of an influential society of educators, employers and labor men—the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education—progress has been very slow. Only eight states have provided for the encouragement of vocational education and in only one is continuation schooling compulsory. The whole movement has needed some very definite concentrated stimulus and some new, clear focusing of the issues.

This is the real value of the new federal bill. If it is negligible in its actual power for aid, its indirect effects should be of great importance in

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the way of stimulus. It will undoubtedly suggest to the majority of states the immediate establishment of a comprehensive system of continuation schools. The grants will be just large enough to make it seem possible. They are not nearly large enough to exempt the states from local appropriations. According to the federal bill these must duplicate the federal grants. The latter will therefore mean actual additional resources, an increment to local and state appropriations. If the states are wise, and appropriate this increment to the payment and training of teachers, then these small sums may be made to mean just the difference between the present hardly attained mediocrity of vocational teaching and a new and effective type of artisan-instructors.

The bill puts the distribution of the funds in the hands of such state boards as the legislatures shall designate. The latter may designate the regular state board of education, or a special board of industrial education working under the direction of the regular board, or it may create a new and independent board to handle these funds. No state is likely to trifle with this now thoroughly discredited "dual" system originally sponsored in Illinois under the form of separate boards controlled wholly by employing interests. The practical choice will lie between the purely "educational" control and the mixed educational, industrial and labor control, such as exists in Wisconsin. The objection to the former grows persistently on the ground that the new vocational methods and work tend infallibly in the hands of the professional educator to drift back to the academic. Educators have too often shown a willingness either to divorce the "pre-vocational" work entirely from the regular school, or else to emasculate it of its realistic potency. Instead of seeing the new practical emphasis infusing and reinvigorating the regular primary and secondary school, the enthusiast for the "new" education has too often had to watch merely the slow reduction of the vocational work to the old unimaginative level of "manual training." The question of control, therefore, which the new bill puts indirectly to the states is of the greatest moment, both to the traditional type of school and to the new activities. The board that distributes the funds will in the last analysis control the policy. Certainly the conservatism of the professional educator is far less to be feared than the narrowness and self-interest of employers' associations. In following the provisions of the federal bill that the aided schools shall be below college grade, for children over fourteen, the state board will control the standards of the individual schools. Whichever form of control is adopted, the trend towards state centralization of the school system is likely to be greatly strengthened.

In this development the states will be influenced largely by the experience of Wisconsin and Massachusetts, where the continuation schools, part-time schools, apprentice classes, which the bill encourages, have been longest in operation. The Wisconsin experience will be found particularly instructive. The state subsidizes its vocational schools by duplicating the funds raised by the community under an obligatory half-mill tax. The local schools are under the control of a special board of industrial education appointed by the local board of education, and consisting of the superintendent of schools with two labor representatives and two employers. The distribution of the state funds is in the hands of the regular state educational administration. There is an advisory industrial board of similar composition to the local boards. At present the situation is much confused owing to the reluctance of this state board of industrial education to remain merely advisory. A "developer" has been appointed as its secretary, an expert in the field, but without administrative power over the schools. His attempts at acceleration have produced their inevitable and intense resentment among the regular school officials. Obviously such a system, with two boards contending for mastery, creates an impossible situation. With the exception of this—and the actual effect of this very largely personal and political feud upon the local development seems to have been negligible—the Wisconsin system seems to be based on sound principles. The local industrial boards have worked with effectiveness and responsibility. In Milwaukee a remarkable system of continuation schools has been built up, which provides for no less than eight thousand children between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, children whom the public and parochial schools have sloughed off into "blind-alley" work, and at whose education and guidance the city makes a last stab in the four-hour-a-week continuation school. One definite principle these Milwaukee schools seem to have established—that education must not be "preparatory" to work, that there is no real place for the merely "pre-vocational," but that education should accompany work and do that just as long as there is anything to learn. The ideal vocational education will be a liberal "part-time" education, in which the school furnishes the background and the constant opening of new suggestions and possibilities, and the shop or trade or office provides the arena for acting skilfully on what is learned.

The Wisconsin system is particularly suggestive. For the local boards constitute one of our first

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American attempts at representation by interest instead of political parties or arbitrary geographical divisions. Their success is largely ascribed in Wisconsin to this fact, that they do accurately represent just the three classes most concerned in this form of education—organized labor, the employers, and the professional schoolman. The labor representatives are on the board to see that the policy does not swing over to narrow employing interests, the employers are on the board to see that the school is kept in touch with the practical demands of industry. The professional educator holds the balance of power between these two interests. With this administrative development to build on, with the improvement in teaching calibre that the new federal grants should bring, with the state centralization of the school system to which the new bill will give impetus, the future is good for a national system of education for work and with work, a free and democratic vocational training.

Blind Nationalism

A SIGNIFICANT indication of feverish but unenlightened nationalism is to be found in the proposal that in the future public-school teachers be required to signify in writing their belief in the principles of the United States Constitution. The proposal looks innocent enough, but the experience of the past shows that it can lead to nothing but pernicious mischief. One need only go back to the days when no one could hold a fellowship in Oxford unless he subscribed his belief in the Thirty-nine articles, to see what such requirements mean in practice. The thoughtless and the indifferent sign at once as a matter of course, but the intellectually scrupulous or conscientious encounter difficulties. What are the principles of the Constitution? Are the New York school officials in a position to tell authoritatively what these principles are? Suppose an applicant disbelieves in the whole electoral system embodied in the Constitution, and believes instead that the President of the United States should be elected directly by the people. Is he to be thereby disqualified for teaching the three R's or shop work? Similar difficulties might arise in the case of one who does not believe in the present limitations on the power of Congress or of the states, or one who does not believe that the Constitution should allow an income tax or the direct election of United States senators. If it be argued that all these are details, we repeat, who is there that can lay down an authoritative line separating the principles of the Constitution from its specific provisions? Some of our conservative lawyers have insisted that the bill of rights, and especially the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, represent the fundamental principles of the Constitution, the other provisions simply supplying machinery for enforcing the same. But a growing number of learned jurists and students of political science insist that the terms of our bills of rights are vague and indefinite, and serve but to make the laws of the land uncertain. Shall we say that any one who holds the latter view is not a good citizen and not fit to teach even such a neutral subject as mathematics? The American Bar Association has declared that the recall of judges and judicial decisions would be subversive of the principles of the Constitution, but millions of loyal American citizens voted for men who espoused those doctrines. Are we prepared to let our school authorities assume the function of acting as censors of political orthodoxy?

It may be that the school superintendents who make this proposal have no intention of excluding from the public schools all progressives who favor radical constitutional changes. It may be that they are expressing in a characteristically befuddled way their desire to exclude from the public schools those who favor change in other than legal ways. If this be their intention it would be better to put the question thus explicitly instead of leaving it so vague that it can become the instrument of persecution or oppression in the hands of those who believe that only the blind worshipers of the status quo are good citizens.

It will indeed be a bad business when control of our public education returns into the hands of those who cannot understand that the good citizen may be one who does not wish to maintain our political institutions but rather to change them for the better.

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What a Budget Should Be

THE term "budget" has now become one of the staple phrases of politics. Governors, in messages, lightly approve it. Politicians exorcise evil spirits with it. Security leagues endorse it. Facile reformers rattle it off. And the fakir is abroad in the land with his patent nostrums. Knowing all this, the Bureau of Municipal Research has published a timely caveat to the unready in a recent brochure entitled The Elements of State Budget Making. In this little booklet are set forth in untechnical terminology the principles involved in budget making so that one who is not an expert in modern methods of accounting and reporting may understand just what is involved in a genuine budget. The staff of the Bureau warn us at the outset that the problem of budget making is not a simple one and inform us that in considering a budget program we are brought face to face "with operations as complex as the multifarious activities of modern governments and with processes which go to the very root of our constitutional law and political custom." This contention disposes at once of those sciolists who expect to bring about a fiscal revolution by enacting a few lines for the statute book.

The staff of the Bureau state that a budget should be viewed as an instrument of information and law, and as a process of government. As the former, the purpose of the budget is to convey to the legislature and the public exact and discriminating information as to the cost of every operation of government, considered in terms of personal services, maintenance, repairs, and capital outlays. Such a survey cannot be prepared unless there is installed a system of accounting which permits of an analysis of costs by objects of expenditure. When the expenditures of different departments for identical purposes are so recorded as to allow an exact comparison with one another and with those of private institutions, then the basis is laid for efficiency in government. Then the legislature may exercise a truly critical judgment and the public may see daylight through the complicated process of administration. If the Bureau's proposition is accepted as a major premise it becomes obvious that a group of seasoned politicians cannot make a real budget by assembling departmental requests and hacking at them indiscriminately. Departmental officers must be compelled to keep their books on cost principles and think of their responsibilities in terms of costs. In short, the precision of scientific accounting is a prerequisite for genuine budget making.

As an instrument of law, the budget should contain an appropriation bill so devised as to encourage rather than penalize the efficient administrator. The Bureau staff have turned their backs upon the highly segregated act of appropriation which apportions out dollars and cents for hay, corn, and coat hooks. They say, "Whoever has surrendered all hope of securing efficiency in democracy should cling to the segregated budget. It may compel officers to buy hay when they need wagons but it will prevent them from buying henchmen with hay money." If we are given a carefully itemized work program, they maintain, we need not go into minute detail in making appropriations, but we may appropriate for broad classes of expenditures, such as salaries and wages, maintenance, repairs, and permanent betterments, and then permit administrative officers with the consent of responsible superiors to transfer money within certain definite limits.

The citizen will be more interested in the Bureau's proposal to make the budget a "process of government." Here the Bureau staff are looking toward responsible government linked up with budget making. They hold that administrative officers should be required to prepare the budget, that the governor should be held accountable for reviewing and consolidating the estimates and for bringing before the legislature a complete financial plan. They utterly reject the idea that a log-rolling legislative committee is the proper organ for this purpose. They say that such a committee cannot hope to secure the information necessary for wise and effective budget making and that even if it could, it cannot be held politically responsible. Being made up of private members who look to their local constituencies for their rewards, the committee, by force of political circumstances, cannot be held accountable for the interests of the commonwealth at large. The Bureau staff propose to put the burden of preparing the budget squarely upon the state executive, but they properly insist that he should be given an adequate technical staff. Compelling the governor to think of services and policies in terms of costs, the Bureau staff believe, would contribute to the development of a new type of gubernatorial candidate. "Imagine a candidate for governor," they say, "studying taxation and finance, looking into the problems of cost accounting, inquiring into institutional management, mastering the intricacies of state administration, and going into office with a full knowledge of the grave responsibilities which will rest upon him."

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Viewing the budget as a process, the Bureau staff call for initial legislative consideration of the budget in committee of the whole, only with the governor and his administrative officers present to answer questions and to defend and explain their budget. Sacred doctrine of the separation of powers for which our fathers fought and bled! Treason against our institutions has been committed in Maryland where a constitutional amendment providing the union of the executive and the legislature in budget making was adopted last November. President Goodnow's commission wrote what may prove to be a new chapter in our constitutional development. The Bureau staff approve this amendment and go a step further asking for committee of the whole—or open and above board—consideration of the budget in the legislature. This process, in their opinion, will bring forth that critical discussion and publicity necessary to responsible government.

The Bureau staff do not commit themselves, however, to the principle that the legislature should not be allowed to increase the governor's proposed budget. They realize that without provision for dissolution in case of a deadlock, this might mean executive machine politics. Until such a flexible government can be obtained they would merely throw upon the legislature the burden of the responsibility for all increases by requiring supplementary appropriations to be in the form of special acts, each for a specific purpose, accompanied by a covering revenue measure, and subject to executive veto.

The authors of this little brochure apparently do not view the budget as something to be installed like a refrigerator or an adding machine. Neither do they regard it as a mere cheese-paring device for the relief of suffering taxpayers. Rather do they look upon it as a means for focusing public attention on the realities of administration—human services and materials—and compelling responsible officers to think of administration in terms of costs. From this standpoint the budget is the beginning of American education in responsible government.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

And from the Sea

ON Saturday morning, February 3d, 1917, old Simeon Presbrey did not expect an immediate break with Germany. That is one reason why he did not know he was destined to make an important decision before the day was over. And of course he hadn't an idea how his fixed habits and one coincidence would help him to discover what he really wanted to do.

At ten o'clock precisely he entered his club as usual, looked at the ticker long enough to be sure there wasn't any news from Washington, and went straight to the library. The room's morning stillness pervaded it. Old Barker was in his chair, with his eyes open. Mr. Presbrey, who never dozed between breakfast and luncheon, preferred the mornings when he found old Barker asleep, for the sight always made him feel younger. This morning he frowned at old Barker.

He went to the alcove where the classical translations were, and took down Butcher and Lang's Odyssey. Now, in his old age, he was reading the authors whose names he had learned years ago, at school and college, when his teachers were trying to teach him Latin and Greek grammar. Broad awake, with his mind on the story, he gave no sign of restlessness until nearly twelve o'clock, at which hour he allowed himself a glass of sherry. Although his attention might wander he always kept his seat faithfully, through those final ten minutes, and faithfully turned his page until noon set him free.

Of late his pleasure in the sherry had been growing less. A few weeks ago, while meditatively drinking, Mr. Presbrey had said to himself, "Why is this sherry like the stories I tell nowadays? Because it is dry, pale and old." At the time this joke had warmed its creator, but the next day it came back to him when the waiter brought the sherry, and the next day too, until now he had a daily struggle to keep his mind free from those foolish words. He had taken to saying other words over and over, just to crowd out that importunate joke. He repeated to himself sentences he had just been reading—odds and ends this morning from the eleventh Odyssey—the words of Teiresias to Odysseus when they meet in the underworld—"and from the sea shall thine own death come, the gentlest death that may be."

Nor had he begun to think of submarines a little later, while walking a few blocks north and east to the subway. He went along tap-tapping with his cane, his mind set on protecting his feeble body from being pushed about by swifter and younger bodies. Not until he was aboard his train, and had found an unhoped-for seat, did he survey the external world. Then he saw it, a prodigious headline in a neighbor's paper—"America Breaks with Germany." Even then Mr. Presbrey had no

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premonition. He was only startled and relieved. He had not been certain that Mr. Wilson would take this step. He was not one of those who trusted the President.

Slowly he examined one newspaper reader after another. How much alike they all were in this crisis—attentive, unexcited, foreign. This last was the impression his mind stopped at. Queer that so few of those Americans who were reading the news of America's decision should look like Americans. Mr. Presbrey shivered. He wished he had worn his fur coat. At his own station he bought a paper, paused to reread the headlines that had somehow become his own headlines by this act of purchase, and made his way westward with their noise in his ears.

His riverside apartment had never looked emptier. Every time he came home he said it was too large for him, had been saying this ever since his wife and daughters died, had often admitted to himself that he might feel less alone in a smaller flat near his club. But his solitude could not last a great while, new quarters would be poorer in memories, he did not want to give up his view of the river, down which he liked to let his imagination go. So he had borne his loneliness, living on among their things and her things, for nearly five years.

In the evening Mr. Presbrey commonly had a book with his dinner, but at luncheon he did not often read. He liked to look down the river, as he was looking to-day. With his eyes he could see a long distance, old as they were, and with his mind further still, past the docks, past Sandy Hook, out in the open ocean, on and on to the circle of water he imagined oftenest, to the place where it had happened.

To think only of this place, among all the many oceanfields of the Atlantic, would have seemed to Mr. Presbrey rather morbid. So he often sent his mind on other voyages, told himself how, if you turned southward out there, beyond the bay your boat would carry you little by little into bluer seas, where the flying fish were, and the trade winds, and islands whose cliffs would open as you coasted along, and disclose a white waterfall at the head of a valley shut in by green-muffled precipices, a waterfall that looked stationary and solid, it was so far off. At the right distance from such an island you could see three or four storms on its mountains, with bright sunlight dividing the storms.

Or, if you turned north down there, outside the bay, the same continuous ocean would take you to such opposite sights and sensations, up through bitter fogs to those long whitenesses where open water was an accident, into a north that was soundless, except for the wind and the cracking of ice. Yet the beginnings of those two journeys were exactly alike, the sea was the same sea. Old Mr. Presbrey knew this was natural enough, but he liked to think about it until it grew strange. The ships, too, how resemblingly they bore themselves, those that would come safe to port setting out with no more hopefulness in their gait than the few that would be posted as missing.

Somewhere between the pole and the tropics there was a tract of ocean, a few square miles of North Atlantic, that Mr. Presbrey always thought of as "the place." He had spent a day or two there, almost five years ago, looking for his dead. He had not forgiven this region, which his boat had crossed and recrossed, for appearing so much like all the rest of the sea. And being of course uncertain of the exact spot, he had not had the poor consolation of being able to say it was here, here, here, that they were drowned. In this neighborhood, somewhere hereabout, the liner had quivered when the ice-ledge ripped her. Either there had been no place in any boat for his wife and his two girls, or else they had preferred to stay. Had they been sucked down too far, and drowned many fathoms below the surface, or had they come up still living, still conscious, had they felt the air about them once more, had they looked for one another through the thinning darkness just before the last? Well, here he was by himself, in all the silence of these deserted rooms, and still alive.

Mr. Presbrey's eyes and mind came back to the river. How safe the boats looked! Yes, but lower down, near the bay, there were ships whose going would not be to safety and might be to death. At first they would slide from horizon toward horizon across spaces empty of all danger except the old perils of the sea, as secure as he had thought his wife and girls were the day they sailed from England. But at last one of those ships would come where a pair of eyes, watching at the bottom of a thin sea-gray stick, could make her out, and her fluent motion, which had been steady along that strangely continuous way of water, would be violently broken. Sometimes there would be open boats and exposure and at last a rescue for crew and passengers, and sometimes the rescuers called by wireless would find nothing but boats capsized and wreckage and a few bodies floating.

What had seemed not quite five years ago a rare incredible accident of the sea—that would happen every day now. For many ships near England and France it would be as if the iceberg had known where the Titanic would steer, had sought her, and had found. Often the victim would not be armed in vain, often the delicate-deadly thing would be sunk, but often too the look-outs would not notice that thin sea-gray stick, they would

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notice nothing except, too late, the streak of the coming death in the water.

While Mr. Presbrey was thinking of the changed world, in which death at sea was becoming so common, he pitied the young men and women who were going to die. He pitied those who were waiting for them on shore. But to the old and lonely this changed world showed a different face. Opportunity beckoned to him and called. Very likely there was no place of meeting anywhere for the dead, but to go out by the same door that they had gone—would not that be a satisfaction? Why should he not sail? He could easily think of a pretext. Once more he repeated to himself, not without smiling, the words he had read that morning—" and from the sea shall thine own death come, the gentlest death that may be." Mr. Presbrey looked older than usual when he smiled.

Q. K.

Faculty Meetings

COLLEGE professors and instructors are good neighbors; they are affable and entertaining. Consequently the generous popular supposition is that their faculty meetings, to which the neighbors are never invited, must be model conferences. Such an assumption seems reasonable enough, for have not college teachers been trained in concentration and precision? Have they not accurate and specialized information? Are they not scientists and experts? Naturally one supposes that they are explicit in statements in debate and that they can dispose of routine matters in short order before reaching the stimulating and alert discussions of policy. But the facts completely destroy this good-natured popular legend. Faculty meetings never evoke stimulating discussions. Even routine matters are fumbled and puttered over in an amazingly incompetent fashion. By all who possess any first-hand knowledge of faculty meetings it is freely admitted that they are both discouragingly ineffective and intolerably dull. However brilliant individual college instructors may be in class-room or casual conversation, in formal faculty debates they are sometimes discourteous, often irrelevant, invariably trivial. When gathered together to transact the business relating to their own profession, they lose all those social qualities which make them, for the outsider, such delightful citizens. Affability or any intellectual provocativeness disappear. Faculty meetings become competitions in boredom.

I must apologize for my anonymity. Although I believe the conditions I describe are characteristic of most of our colleges, signing my name would bring down undeserved criticism on my own university. Probably this institution is no better and no worse than are other like institutions; the defects I am discussing are, I think, fundamental. And if I am correct in believing that they are, these defects must be radically extirpated before American colleges can even begin to accomplish the high liberating function which idealists have so long hoped of them. Certainly there will be no democracy worth the name in our academic circles until the college president can respect the liberties of a group, now so unfitted for the exercise of any control that he is perforce compelled to be despotic. To-day, the most college professors and instructors can hope for is a benevolent despotism. Small wonder that it often seems as if deans were selected by the president through malice provoked by the tediousness of faculty meetings!

First among the causes which have contributed to this ineffectiveness and stupidity I should list the surreptitious fashion in which the faculty performs its functions. There is no publicity. Newspaper reporters do not take down the proceedings. Publicity is an excellent incentive to sanity of action in assemblages of all sorts. A school board in a near-by city gained the habit of holding meetings not open to the public. It did not, of course, frankly avow such practice, but it met in out-of-the-way places and at times not announced. The action was considered scandalous and public opinion quickly compelled a change. Practically all legislative or judicial assemblies are forced to hold sessions open to the public, and " star chamber " methods are considered the ultimate reproach. In fact, is there any other body of public or semi-public character which would dare to do what practically all college faculties do as a matter of course? The secrecy so insisted upon in faculty meetings is partly traditional and partly due to the timidity which grows upon teachers of all sorts. There is a survival of monkish mediævalism in colleges. It is an owlishness which loves the dark. For the public to demand and secure meetings would of itself bring about tremendous liberating changes. By their very nature faculty meetings constitute an almost irresistible temptation to excess and absurdity. It is easy to grow intemperate in your criticisms of those who will not hear you—and cannot answer back. It is also human nature.

Indeed, I fear to contemplate what would be the immediate effect of public meetings on the public opinion of those states which support institutions of higher learning. If the derogatory, not to say slanderous statements, so commonly uttered in faculty meetings with respect to the ability and character of the student body were published in the daily papers, some professors would not be

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over-eager to meet their students the next day. I remember one professor who recommended that the students who failed should be sent to a school for imbeciles. And never during the many years I have had to attend these dreary conferences have I known a defender of the student body to be regarded as other than a traitor to his professor-class. I have never heard it intimated that incompetent instructors in college might explain the poor standing of some of the students. The burden for failure is invariably put upon the student, his previous high school teachers, or his parents.

Equally intemperate with the attacks on the student body are the attacks on other institutions of learning. The superficiality and ineffectiveness of high schools, the elementary character of the work done in normal schools, the lack of thoroughness in the earlier grades—all receive their due share of the reproach which is cast on secondary education. Even professional training of teachers, oddly enough, is jeered at; taxpayers might be interested to know that the money given with the left hand was employed on the cheerful task of condemning with the right the work made possible by the giving of money. But it is the quality of the teaching in the secondary schools which has to meet the bitterest and most persistent criticism. This in spite of the unfortunate fact that high school teachers largely copy their methods from college instructors. (The truth is that the instructors of freshmen in college are usually not anything like so competent as the teachers the student had in the upper years of his high-school course.) Yet in the face of all evidence to the contrary, faculties always seem ready to assume that the high schools are trying to "put something over" on the colleges. The faculties are suspicious and irritable on the subject. They try to imbue all new instructors with the idea that their first task is to rectify the bad judgment of the high school teachers. The charge is always made that high schools are careless in weeding out incompetent students. Would not publicity make the faculties more rational in their condemnation, and perhaps make them cease to lay at others' doors the mistakes really due to their own sacrosanct system?

Another reason for the futility of present-day faculty meetings lies in their direct encouragement to the *ex cathedra* habit of speech. With no criticism other than its own, absurdities pass unnoticed. Dogmatizing becomes the rule; and the higher up in the professional scale a teacher rises the stronger seems to become his itch to lay down the law. It is strange that men who are really concerned in working out problems in a true scientific fashion will rattle on so aimlessly in faculty meetings. What is worse, there is often downright dishonest debate. Statistics can be manufactured out of hand and everyone is too bored to challenge them. Furthermore, so much of the discussions is concerned with purely academic questions, about which no one cares a penny, that the debaters become capricious and trifling. Fussy exactness is accepted for scholarship and lugubrious obscurity for erudition. Only the difference between the tweedledum and the tweedledee of curricula will stir up any rancor or heat. For although much of the progress of educational theory and practice is due to college men, it is safe to say that discarded theories and practices hold sway longest in faculty gatherings. I never was connected with a faculty in which a majority had imbibed an inkling of modern educational theory. The majority vote is almost always reactionary. "Formal discipline" is still worshipped idolatrously. It would certainly be a shock to educators in other fields—city superintendents, for example—to hear the faculties of the colleges they so revere dilate on the disciplinary value of mathematics, the classics, modern languages, old English and the like. Freshmen are still regarded as perverse youths who must on no account be allowed to study anything that is of vital interest to them, else they be "spoiled" for the hard restraint of pure scholarship. The conventional ending to these discussions is the expression of intense pessimism over our degenerate day. Faculties still dream of an academic golden age, in the past.

Again, the politics of a college is not on a high plane. A skilful and unscrupulous dean can marshal his followers and out-vote any reformer. Young men become inured to sycophancy in order to secure promotion. "Do not cross the dean in this," said one instructor to another, "he will not stand being opposed." "College politics," if less corrupt than the more secular kind, is certainly more truckling. There is less manhood in it and more craftiness, less candor and more duplicity. College instructors are not loyal to one another when place or preferment is at stake. If one were to stand up for another who is in disfavor, the defender would be a marked man and would be sure to see others promoted over his head. Debates rarely evoke the real opinions of the faculty on vital questions. Presidents stand by their deans, and the deans rule. Under present conditions this is well-nigh inevitable, for the rank and file have no incentive to be radical and no hope that originality will be welcomed, when broad questions of policy are considered. When obedience means subserviency, it is not true that men learn to control by being first obedient.

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Finally—and I believe this is the most important point of all—as a result of these influences college faculties in America have no real authority. I have seen a venerable college president, whom long experience had indurated to aimless debate, sit with a look of infinite weariness on his face while " his " faculty was enveloped in the mists of endless, futile discussion. Yet my sympathy could not go out to him, for I knew he would be loth to give his faculty any tangible business. " Please remember, gentlemen," he once said, " that I have an absolute veto on any decision you may make." College professors and instructors feel this lack of genuine responsibility. Their talks are not instruments leading to action, but ends in themselves, with the natural result that they become showy, exaggerated and sophistical. Young and ambitious members make set speeches in order to attract the attention of solemnly visaged deans and thus secure promotion—a scheme, mournful to relate, which often succeeds. One can always safely grow eloquent about " holding up the standards of scholarship " and " discipline." No dean, president or board of trustees will ever object to that. One can always orate on the necessity for students working harder. Trivial questions, really the business of any intelligent committee, come before the faculty; important questions hardly ever. And there will never be a remedy for this until the colleges are made honestly democratic, the instructors and the professors given their due share of real power and responsibility, and faculty meetings held, as they always ought to have been, in public.

A PROFESSOR.

Assurance to Japan

ABOUT three months ago a Peking dispatch reported that Japan had protested against the improvement of the grand canal of China by the Siems-Carey Company of St. Paul. As Germany's successor in Shantung, Japan has a legal right to protest, for the German-Chinese convention of 1898 contains the following article:

> The Chinese Government binds itself, in all cases where foreign assistance, in persons, capital or material may be needed for any purpose whatever within the province of Shantung, to offer the said work or supplying of materials in the first instance to German manufacturers and merchants engaged in the undertaking of the kind in question.

Nevertheless, in spite of this legal right to protest, it was a great relief to find the report contradicted in later dispatches, which say that Japan is simply inquiring into the question. We hope the protest will never be made, since the American project is purely commercial and is unaccompanied by any political ambitions. A protest would in this instance be a grievous mistake.

At the same time we can well understand why Japan is inclined to check American enterprise in China. In my judgment there are two classes of Japanese who look askance at American activities in the Orient.

The first class consists of those who are really fearful of America's aggressive policy in the Far East. They think that America is embarking upon an imperialistic career. She is, they fear, stretching her hands across the Pacific, intent upon extending her political as well as commercial influence in China. In Secretary Knox's proposal for the " neutralization " of the Manchurian railways, in his scheme to construct the Chinchow-Aigun railway, in the Bethlehem Steel Company's project to establish a dockyard in Kukien, not to mention the American occupation of the Hawaiian Islands and the Philippines, the Japanese see ominous rise of the United States in world politics. They think that these American activities, like similar activities of European Powers, are not merely commercial but are attended with political ambitions. They have seen their existence menaced by the sinister designs of European Powers upon Korea and China. For them it is difficult to differentiate American enterprise from European. American enterprise in China, backed by unlimited resources and capital will, they apprehend, sooner or later drive Japanese trade and enterprise to the wall. All European investors in China have enjoyed the backing of their respective governments. The railways they have built in China are as much political railways as they are commercial. The concessions Europeans have wrested from Peking have political meaning. Will not the same unfortunate situation develop from American investments in Chinese railways and canals and mines?

The second class of Japanese who object to American activities in China are those who are not only apprehensive of American imperialism but are desirous of showing the Americans what Japan can do in the way of retaliation. Their mood is one of resentment and defiance as well as fear. They have been deeply annoyed by the cry of " Wolf!" raised by publicists at Washington and a large number of American newspapers every time Japan takes a step on the Asian mainland. They have been resenting America's discrimina-

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tion against the Japanese and her apparent eagerness to forestall all Japanese enterprises, however innocent, in Mexico and even in South America. The Japanese are but human. You cannot expect them to turn their left cheeks to you after you have slapped them on their right cheeks. They can understand you when you raise an issue over Japanese immigration to your own country, but they do not understand, and will never understand, why you have to pursue them in Mexico and South America and to make so much ado about them, when there is nothing to make a fuss about. We all know there was no truth in the much exploited story of the Japanese designs upon Magdalena Bay, and yet one of your foremost publicists introduced a resolution in the Senate at Washington declaring that the United States could not see without grave concern the acquisition of any harbor on the American continent by a foreign corporation "which has such relations to another government, not American, as to give that country practical control for military or naval purposes."

Do you expect the Japanese to sit quiet under such an unwarranted rebuff, and to let American firms, powerful enough to invoke the assistance of your government to protect their investments, do as they please in China? Ever and anon your newspapers raise the cry of the Japanese peril over insignificant Japanese emigration to Mexico and South America, where the Japanese are welcomed. Your newspapers argue that, though the Japanese are as yet harmless in their places, they may in the future prove a source of trouble, likely to provoke international complications between Japan and some Latin American country. If American newspapers and publicists are justified in resorting to such fatuous arguments with regard to the Japanese emigration to Latin America, the Japanese may with equal justification argue that the inflow of American capital into China may prove the cause of international complications, and must therefore be checked.

This unfortunate state of American-Japanese relations cannot continue indefinitely, if the two countries are to remain friendly. In the name of international amity and peace, then, I suggest that America institute in Japan a propaganda for mutual understanding.

America should send to Japan a brilliant, versatile, resourceful man, not a diplomatic official but a private citizen, whose view is broad, whose knowledge of American history and of international relations is not superficial. Such a man should explain in speeches, and through newspapers and magazines, America's real policy towards China and Japan. He should employ one or two competent Japanese interpreters and translators, and present his views to the Japanese public, not in English but in Japanese. This work, which would be very different from that done by the Carnegie exchange lectures, should be continued for at least three years.

With the question of preparedness uppermost in the minds of the Americans, wild stories about alleged Japanese ambitions have been so freely published in many American newspapers that the Japanese have come to believe that the American press, in unison with "big interests" of one sort or another, are engaged in a propaganda to discredit and slander Japan. No longer are sensational stories about "Japanese designs" upon America the monopoly of your yellow journals. Scanning the news translated from your daily papers and reading the brief cable dispatches that daily cross the Pacific and find publication in Japanese newspapers, the masses of Japan have almost been led to think that the American Government and people have made up their minds to wage an aggressive war against Japan.

If you are going to institute a propaganda in my native country, you must have something definite to tell my countrymen. If I were you I would go to Japan and talk to the Japanese somewhat like this:

"It is unfortunate that we cannot get along more amicably with you. We can fully appreciate your opposition to our activities in China. But we want you to understand that our enterprise is purely economic and has no political significance. Our traditional foreign policy forbids our government to back any enterprise calculated to interfere with the internal administration of any foreign country. True, we have been obliged to assume control of the Philippines, but that was not because we harbored any territorial ambitions. Our history clearly shows this. As for your activities in Mexico and South America, we shall not hinder them as long as they are economic just as our activities in China are economic. We regret that the preparedness propaganda has brought in its train sensational stories about your alleged ambitions both in Mexico and China, but I hope you will understand that this is only one of many unfortunate aspects of democracy. In a democracy like ours we cannot move the huge unwieldy mass of people into action unless we convince them of the necessity of immediate action by holding up concrete examples before them. That is why you have been unfortunate enough to be picked out and exploited as one of our possible enemies. We also deeply regret that your countrymen in California have been discriminated against by laws of the state. We wish that the situation could be immediately remedied by extending citizenship to

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your countrymen in our country. But here again we have to encounter the difficulties of democracy. Our government and many of our publicists have no objection to granting citizenship to the Japanese, and we trust that steps toward that end will be taken at an opportune moment. The solution of such questions requires much time, and both you and we must be patient. In the meantime you may rest assured that we shall do all in our power to remove the cause of irritation between the two countries, and we trust you will not hesitate to coöperate with us, as you so loyally have in the past."

This, in fact, is what we, who have access to Japanese newspapers, have been telling our compatriots in Japan. Are not Americans ready to join us and speak to the Japanese with sincerity, sympathy, frankness, and in conciliatory spirit? Is not America willing to send to Japan some such definite message as I have suggested?

Once Japan is convinced of America's conciliatory attitude to the question of the treatment of the Japanese in this country, once she clearly understands the real nature of America's economic activities in China, there is every reason to believe that she will not only be willing to continue the "gentlemen's agreement" restricting Japanese emigration to this country, and to welcome American enterprise in China, but will also be ready to respect America's opinion with regard to the disposition of the Chinese question.

K. K. KAWAKAMI.

At the Capitol

THE impression is probably very general that since the dismissal of the German ambassador, Congress has been devoting a large part of its attention to blocking out the main lines of possible American participation in the war. Such a presumption would be inaccurate. Certain preparatory measures have been introduced, such as Representative Padgett's hasty proposal for commandeering the factories and placing labor under military law; but for the most part Congress has proceeded dispassionately along in the stratum in which it is most at home, appropriating funds from the national treasury.

In the course of the past week three bills making appropriations have come up for consideration in the Senate. These bills were discussed not in the light of any recent developments, but in the usual manner of congressional procedure—with almost no debate on the larger items and hot quarreling over the smaller ones. In the Agricultural Appropriation bill, items involving as much as a quarter of a million dollars received little attention; but on such appropriations as the setting aside of $25,000 for "the improvement of the pecan industry and the eradication of the diseases peculiar thereto," bitter debate ensued. This particular item, for example, was branded by Senator Smoot as "sectional"—a charge silenced only after Senator Smith, of South Carolina, had reminded Senator Smoot that he had once sought an appropriation to treat the diseases of wild ducks in Utah. Protracted discussion was also given to the question of discontinuing the congressional distribution of "valuable seeds." Certain irreverent members contended that the free seed practice was merely a political device used by Congressmen for campaign purposes. Senator Smith rushed to the defense of the item, however, declaring that it encouraged "beautifying the landscape and cultivating the æsthetic taste of the children"—and the appropriation was accordingly retained in the bill. Further discussion arose over the question whether a clause which read "pink boll worm of cotton" had not better read "pink cotton-boll worm." The first reading prevailed, and the bill was finally passed—though Senator Sherman pessimistically ridiculed the idea of government "experts" ever hoping to teach the farmers anything.

The other appropriation measures which the Senate considered went along with less opposition. In the Post Office Appropriation bill the provision for one-cent postage on local letters has been at least temporarily struck out, on a point of order raised by Senator Hitchcock; in the thirteen-million-dollar District of Columbia bill the only real debate centered on the repaving of one block of Fourteenth Street, and on the question as to whether Maryland ought not to reciprocate with the District in the matter of automobile licenses. These questions were settled in time to permit a consideration of the long-delayed Porto Rico citizenship bill, the passage of which President Wilson had urged as a matter of immediate necessity when Congress first convened. In debate on this bill the section governing the right to vote was amended. It had originally placed either a property or a literacy qualification on suffrage, although the report of the Governor of Porto Rico showed that the opportunities for education were inadequate to justify the latter test. The Senate struck from the bill both the property and literacy qualifications, though it left certain restrictions in the case of new voters.

With a number of small appropriation bills, and a six-hour debate over the indorsement of the President's action in breaking with Germany, this constitutes the record of the Senate for the past week. To all appearance the House was more appreciative of the situation outside of Congress, for its attention during the same period has been devoted almost exclusively to a consideration of the Naval Appropriation bill. It cannot be said, however, that this implies any conscious effort at being timely on the part of the House. The bill was pending before the break came. But in cognizance of it, the House added liberally to the appropriations for guns, ammunitions and anti-aircraft stations. The answer to the crisis was instinctively expressed in dollars and cents. But the double attraction of having a naval bill under consideration and a foreign crisis at hand did not permit matters to rest there. Throughout the entire week the general practice was for some member to rise immediately after the reading of each paragraph of the bill and move that the last word be struck out. This gave him the floor under a pretext, and enabled him to express forcefully a number of irrelevant ideas. Thus, when a paragraph was read providing an appropriation for the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, Representative Moore arose, moved to strike out the last word, and delivered an address on the inaccuracy of American newspapers, when the salary for a laboratorian in the Department of Electrical Engineering came up, Representative McCracken spoke on the influence of foreign languages being taught by foreigners in the Naval Academy.

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The debate on the bill, lasting over a whole week, brought to light the causes of the war in Europe, the efficiency and inefficiency of the Democratic administration, the superiority of small colleges over large ones, the German method of caring for prisoners—almost everything, in fact, except a direct consideration of the items supposed to be under discussion.

The House lost one day from its pursuit of rhetoric when it devoted a session to discussing two amendments added by the Senate to the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Appropriation bills. These amendments proceeded not from a disagreement in details, but from a matter involving principles. The first provided that in the future the secretaries of representatives should, like those of senators, be placed upon a regular payroll. It is hard to see why the House should object to this proposal, especially as the charge has been made that many members keep for themselves part of the government money they are supposed to pay to their secretaries. But without much debate the House decided to go on the theory of Representative Sims, who said: "Let there be absolute proof of misuse of these funds before such legislation is enacted"—a theory which seems short-sighted, if not actually questionable. The other Senate amendment, more important, provided for the extension of the civil service to postmasters of higher classes. Although the President has declared for such an extension, the Democrats in the House were too recently victorious to be sympathetic to it, and there was enacted the amazing spectacle of a fight for progressive legislation being led by Representative Mann, the minority leader. Both Kitchin, the majority leader, and Fitzgerald, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, spoke against the amendment—Fitzgerald summing up the opposition case in his declaration:

> "I believe in the system of party government—a system in which political parties promulgate specific principles and policies, and, if selected, carry those principles and policies into effect."

It is difficult to see how the Democratic party could promulgate a theory as to the selling of postage stamps that would require a partisan postmaster to carry it into effect; but the efforts of Mann and a few others went down without even a roll-call, and the House instructed its conferees to disagree with the Senate amendments. Aside from the Porto Rican measure and the routine matters, that was the only progress made by Congress, in either direction, since the breaking off of relations with Germany.

C. M.

CORRESPONDENCE

Benevolent Neutrality Not Illegal

SIR: The spirit of fairness which inspires the article entitled Justification, printed in your issue of February 10th, is most praiseworthy. In the words of the writer: "If we do take the British side" (in this war) "we have the more rather than the less reason for recognizing what there is of truth and justice in the German protest" (against British naval absolutism), "anarchical though it be." But surely, in order to recognize that "truth and justice," it is not necessary to twist facts and to dismiss prevailing views of law and morality by calling action based thereon "hypocritical."

The writer has twisted facts by presenting a picture of the naval war from August, 1914, to March, 1915, which is chronologically false. He says: "The British, for instance, defended their drastic interdict on the commerce of neutral nations with Germany on the general ground that such a policy, even though it ignored the niceties of international law, was justified by Germany's violation of Belgium. When the British embargo began to cut off that part of German trade with neutrals which was legal, the Germans had two alternative methods of warding off the blow. Either neutral trading nations might be induced to insist upon a reading of sea law such as the Declaration of London which would permit the Germans to obtain some of their needed supplies from abroad. Or the Germans could try to repay Great Britain in the same coin by using the submarine as a fair measure of retaliation against the illegal suffocation of their commerce. Our benevolent neutrality has deprived Germany of the use of both these weapons."

These words convey to the reader two impressions quite false: First, that the Declaration of London is part of international law binding on Great Britain. This is not the case. Britain never ratified the Declaration, and the United States could not, as a neutral, insist upon any rule as being part of sea law merely because it was embodied in the Declaration of London. Second, that German submarine warfare was from the outset justified as a measure of reprisal or retaliation for Britain's illegal "blockade." Now it is common knowledge that the declaration of the British "blockade" was not made by Mr. Asquith until March 1st, 1915, and that the "blockade" itself did not go into effect until March 15th. It was announced expressly as a reprisal for the German submarine policy as proclaimed to the world on February 4th, 1915, and, in fact, heralded by a few sinkings previous to that date. The earlier detention of food-carrying ships bound for Germany, such as the Wilhelmina, the British could easily justify on Germany's own precedents: (a) the sinking of the William P. Frye; (b) the condemnation of the Maria; and also on the German decree handing over the control of all food supplies to the military authorities. The reprisal argument, for what it is worth, clearly supports the acts of Britain and not, as our writer implies, the acts of Germany, even when it is confined strictly to the facts of sea war and without reference to Belgium.

But the writer does not attempt to maintain at length that the acts of Germany have been less illegal than those of Britain. He is content to fall back on the argument that both policies are illegal; that we should have interfered with both or with neither; that we have in fact acted harshly toward the one and leniently toward the other; and consequently our neutrality has been "benevolent." This argument is sound if regarded only through the cold light of international legal theory. It utterly ignores the fact that most men recognize a fundamental moral difference between those acts which municipal law classifies as torts and those which it generally classifies and punishes as crimes; and that most men must and do apply the same moral tests in determining their attitude toward international wrongs as well. This moral difference is akin to that which lawyers had in mind when differentiating illegal acts into *mala prohibita* and *mala in se*. The "man in the street" makes the same discrimination to-

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day. Call us hypocrites if you will, but we cannot class the Wilhelmina with the Sussex, or the Kim with the Lusitania.

In the further course of his article the writer justifies our so-called benevolent neutrality and our alleged hypocrisy—so far as they have borne fruit in action—by reason of the "beneficial consequences which should accrue both to the American and to other peoples." This is truly a great end with which to justify our means. My criticism is that he has made our means appear much more doubtful than they are.

In behalf of the Germans let us remember that they believe that they are fighting for their existence as a nation and as a great Power, and that we have denied to them the efficient use of the one weapon which can save them from defeat. But in behalf of ourselves and of the President let us remember also that this "efficient use" is, by existing rules, illegal, that in fact it is not justifiable as a reprisal, and that in matter if not in form it is far different from British illegality—for it is inhuman.

L. A. Crosby.

New York City.

America Impartial

SIR: The editorial, Justification, in your issue of February 10th, appears to maintain that there are sound and sufficient reasons for our entering the war against Germany, and that the reason for doing so which our government may be expected to give and has already foreshadowed, is a hypocritical pretense. The second contention is based upon the assumption that the government has hitherto treated the two groups of belligerents unequally, has permitted on the part of Great Britain violations of "the existing system of maritime law," to which it now demands that Germany conform. The editorial thus reiterates an assertion which has frequently appeared in The New Republic: that our official neutrality has been decidedly "benevolent" to the Entente and, in essence, insincere.

This assertion appears to me to be without justification; and if it is untrue, it is manifestly contrary to the public interest that such an opinion should gain currency, especially at the present crisis. Its correctness can be tested by a single question: Does The New Republic believe that if Germany had given us no greater provocation than England, if not one American life had been lost, or one American ship destroyed, through German agency—the Wilhelmstrasse would now have anything worse to apprehend from Mr. Wilson than a further bombardment of diplomatic notes? Whatever Mr. Wilson's private sympathies are, his official conduct offers no evidence of a disposition to deal more patiently with one side than with the other, in the presence of the same offenses. His policy in this respect has been intelligible and consistent. Being under strong pacifist influences, the administration has gone to great lengths to avoid actual conflict with either party in the European struggle. It early made it clear that it had no concern with violations of international law, or acts of reprisal between belligerents, unless our own interests were materially affected. When they were affected, it protested, using exceedingly sharp language to Great Britain as well as to Germany, and established a basis for claims in damages at the end of the war. It has been, in a sense, extremely "benevolent" to both belligerents—in the sense, namely, that it has taken no hostile steps when acts of questionable legality, or of unquestionable illegality, were perpetrated; but in this sense it has been incomparably more "benevolent" to Germany than to her enemies. Even during the past week, it has exercised great ingenuity in devising amiable "explanations" for an extraordinary breach of diplomatic decency by Berlin; and has refused to take offense when the lives of American seamen and travelers were put in jeopardy by submarine attacks in no respect less lawless and inhumane than those made upon the Lusitania and the Sussex.

If, then, we find ourselves still at peace with Great Britain and on the verge of war with Germany, the reason is not that we have treated those belligerents differently; the reason is that they have treated us differently. Doubtless Germany's temptation has been the greater; but that is not a consideration which concerns us. She has, in fact, not merely infringed property rights of our nationals—infringements reparable at the close of the war—but has also taken some scores of American lives, and threatened to take more; and has thus raised the issue whether our government means to protect the lives of American citizens. Does The New Republic know of any instance in which that issue has been raised in our diplomatic controversies with Great Britain since the war began? And does The New Republic hold that those who endure many injuries thereby obligate themselves to endure all things?

Fortunately the writer of the editorial, while he singularly obscures the primary moral issue involved in the present situation, sees with unusual clearness another scarcely less essential aspect of that situation. In spite of England's many past sins against the light, any serious weakening of the British Empire would be an incalculable and irreparable loss to the material and the highest moral interests of the United States, and to the cause of free government throughout the world. The New Republic is wholly right in insisting that this fact ought to be honestly recognized as a controlling consideration in our foreign policy, in the present critical period of the war.

Arthur O. Lovejoy.

Baltimore, Maryland.

A Correction in Mesopotamia

SIR: There is danger that the humanitarian studying the racial world map spread before him by Mr. Graham Wallas in his discussion of "The Eastern Question" (January 27th) will get the impression that Mesopotamia is a hodge-podge of Jews, Hindoos, Germans and Arabs. It is important, especially for the humanitarian who views the world racially, that it shall be correct, and therefore Mr. Wallas will not take umbrage if I point out that there are no Jews (to speak of) in Mesopotamia. Mr. Wallas must have had in mind the Jewish development in Palestine, the agricultural colonies, the banks, high schools, arts and crafts schools, experiment stations, etc., fostered there during the past twenty years by the Zionists.

Certainly, no solution of the Eastern Question will be a real solution which does not take this development into account, encourage and safeguard it. What this safeguard is to be, what the encouragement, depends, naturally, upon the outcome of the war. But it might be of value if a man of Mr. Wallas's authority would study this particular question from a humanitarian angle and give your readers the benefit of his conclusions.

A. H. Fromenson, Jr.

New York City.

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Photoplay Progress

The Photoplay, a Psychological Study, by Hugo Münsterberg. New York: D. Appleton & Co. $1.00.

SATURDAY afternoon, December sixteenth, here in my home town, I happened to be talking to the woman's club on the motion picture. I took the opportunity to speak of our particular debt to Professor Münsterberg's little book, The Photoplay. So it was with the feeling of the sudden loss of a comrade in a new quest that I read of his death in the bulletins in the State Register window that very evening.

Like most readers of The New Republic I could not have conversed with him long at a time on international matters. But I had had a most gratifying correspondence with the professor about the films. I had anticipated a glorious evening with him in some photoplay theatre this spring, where we would have been absolutely at one in our joy in the hopeful young art.

The Moving Picture World, the thunderer of the screen journals, says in large print, in the number for January 6th, 1917: "In the death of Professor Hugo Münsterberg, the motion pictures lose a firm friend and advocate. He was a close student of the possibilities of the pictures along educational and test lines, and had he lived it is very probable that pictures would have been liberally used in the universities within a short time."

Münsterberg shows in his book that the most routine motion picture has in all its apparently mechanical circumstances the beginnings of art. The book builds up out of these intrinsic qualities the higher photoplay as it is and may be.

The professor writes a noble declaration of independence for the photoplay artist. He gives him a charter of freedom, based on these intrinsic qualities, a charter of freedom that in many ways resembles that of the musical composer, and in others that of the philosopher.

First for practical reasons, then for theoretical, I have opposed music while the film is running. But so many of my friends have condemned my anti-musical position as the weakest place in my armor, that I have told them to read Münsterberg, and work out the faith that is in them. Possibly because philosophy is close to music, and music is the most mathematical and scientific of the arts, the book offers a basis on which such a faith can be founded, though it is not explicit in the book. But to this end I further recommend an article in a recent number of Reedy's Mirror (St. Louis), entitled The Movies and Music. It is by Richard L. Stokes, and well done, nine generous columns. Beginning with Münsterberg, he theorizes into hypothetical existence a photoplay cousin of Wagner Opera and Russian Ballet. But at present music and the motion picture are not often speaking acquaintances, no matter though they be stretched upon the same gilded procrustean bed.

While Münsterberg does not utterly neglect the pictorial side of the films, he dwells more upon the motion qualities. Certainly a just balance of these elements, and a study of previous arts that include them must go into the theory of criticism. By dwelling upon the motion in its deeper meaning our psychologist, in his most notable declaration, shows how the films have set us free. He says, page 173: *"The photoplay tells us the human story by overcoming the forms of the outer world; namely, space, time and causality, and by adjusting the events to the forms of the inner world: namely, attention, memory, imagination and emotion."*

And he italicizes a little later: *"While the moving pictures are lifted above the world of space and time and causality, and are freed from its bonds, they are certainly not without law."* This law, stated a little later, is: *"The perfect unity of plot and pictorial appearance."*

Münsterberg, in these declarations, and others, unintentionally wrote the guide-book to the newest photoplay experiment, Intolerance.

People have spoken of Griffith's alleged "sheer sensationalism" in his plot in which he shows four periods of time conversing with one another. But jumping back and forth over barriers of time is the most accepted thing in the photoplay hurdle-race. You have seen films where the hero has visions of his childhood to urge him on to doughty deeds. Three scenes of the past alternate with three scenes of to-day in his thoughts, that the comparison may be rousing. The heroine has visions of her two possible futures if she chooses the prunes on the one hand or the peaches on the other. And as to jumping over geographical spaces, the photoplay dialogue that technically replaces the old stage interchange of words is a conversation between places, not individuals. In a moonshiner drama that I saw last week the director alternated the cabin in the field, the revenue detectives on the road and the still on the hillside. We were given a conversation between these units. One picture, guns, horses, detectives and all seemed to be calling, "We are coming." Another picture, the still, the bushes and the hillside seemed to be answering: "We are hiding yet." The picture of the cabin, the field and the young moonshiners seemed to say: "We suspect nothing, but are on guard on general principles." Round and round this conversation progresses as the pictures alternate, till the still is finally destroyed, and the cabin besieged and taken.

The principle holds good, no matter how lofty the theme, or how far apart the places in the dialogue may be in time or geographical distance. In Griffith's Intolerance, Babylon is shown signalling across the ages to Judea, and there is many a message that is not printed out on the films or put into the apparently explicit publicity matter. And in like manner the days of St. Bartholomew and of the crucifixion signal back to Babylon sharp or vague or subtle messages. The little factory couple in the modern street scene called The Dear One and The Boy, seem to wave their hands back to Babylon amid the orchestration of ancient memories. The ages make a resonance behind their simple plans and terrible perplexities. The usual shallowness of appeal of private griefs and loves as shown in the most painstaking intimate films, their inability to arouse complete responding passion in the audience, is thus remedied. The modern story is made vibrant by the power of whirling crowds from the streets of Time. The key hieroglyphic is the cradle of humanity, eternally rocking. This photoplay is given power not by straining for depth of passion, but depth of what might be called tableau-emotion, a much more elusive thing.

But we have applied only one of Münsterberg's conclusions to the film. I would advise the reader to go rapidly through the book, find the drift of the italicized passages, go to Intolerance, then re-read the book carefully, then go to Intolerance again. For the most part neither the book nor the film have been estimated in any but a nickelodeon way. Their profound relation has not been noted, when it is to the credit of both Münsterberg and Griffith, and should contribute to the progress of aesthetics in America, before film or book are old. What appears to be the high austere opposite of this film may

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be born by the study of it. But blind condemnation or blind submission gets us nowhere. And the same may be said of the book, that has been elaborately praised, but completely ignored, by the professional photoplay critics of the big newspapers.

VACHEL LINDSAY.

After the Play

THE last person in the world to take Getting Married seriously as a drama would be Bernard Shaw himself. He knows that his name at last arouses joyous expectation in a large American public, and he is probably human enough to be gratified that Getting Married has had an excellent New York run. But there can be few of his achievements in the theatre about which he has smaller illusion than this same manipulation of dialectic. In other plays he has been really interested in the people he created. He has given them some chance to have an accent of their own, and to behave spontaneously. Here, except for Mrs. George and perhaps the bishop, he shows little interest in his characters as persons. They are mouthpieces, and subservient mouthpieces at that. They have one excuse for appearing in the "action" and one function when they are present on the stage, to spout about marriage. They have no other reason for being. If the events of the play provided such enormous pressure that one's attention could not wander from marriage any more than one's attention at Ghosts can wander from heredity, Getting Married could be regarded as a drama. But the only solid compulsion in the play is the compulsion worked by the inclusively argumentative author. Mr. Shaw was never so little occupied in suggesting a specific dilemma that depended on idiosyncrasy, or so much occupied in discussing an institution. To engage people's minds by the sheer vivacity of his discussion seemed to him the thing worth doing. And he made no serious effort to do anything else.

The trouble with a play so disputatious is the trouble with all purposeful documents. It is the purpose that is fascinating, and there is no fun in the processes once the purpose is accomplished. So long as one has the purblind conventions that Mr. Shaw seeks to undermine in Getting Married, there is considerable excitement in the scheme and plot of his proposals. Then it is really thrilling that a woman like Lesbia can want children without wanting a husband, that a woman like Leo can want a lover without wanting to give up a husband, that a woman like Edith can want a husband without wanting to give up free speech. But once these impulses have been accepted beforehand and one's mind has dwelt on them, the flinty opposition on which Mr. Shaw must count for his steely spark is absent, and there is little in the drama except the equation of the personalities involved. Of course one may say that it is the vitality of Mr. Shaw's ideas, not their novelty, that justifies Getting Married, and that so long as such prejudices as the ones he is encountering are viable, his exposure of them is bound to have verve. That assumes he really has exposed prejudices, not tried to titillate his audience with a facile perception of them. For myself, he'd have to reveal a much stronger feeling about the whole business of institutionalized sex than Getting Married exhibits to make his witticism about marriage do more than seem rather mildly tickling. In 1908, perhaps, the public skin was thinner and his point sharper. That is the unfortunate part of his long indulgence as the spoiled Irish tag-player among bumbling Philistines.

It is perfectly all right for Mr. Shaw to have his characters "talking all over the shop," but either the quality of their talk ought to be better or it ought to be representative of persons in a plight more related to love. The plight of Cecil and Edith is, of course, a facetious one. On their wedding morning they start reading pamphlets—he on a man's legal liability for his wife and she on the laws of divorce. It is amusing, but it requires an enormous spirit to carry it off, and there is nothing in the bishop's daughter or the young man who plans to marry her to make their feelings or reasonings particularly poignant. It is, however, the twists to the discussion that remind one of Mr. Shaw's amazing capacity for groundling wit. "This is not quarrelling, Lesbia; it is only English family life." "Go and get married first: you'll have plenty of arguing afterwards, miss, believe me." "Lord bless you, ma'am, I'm that fond of my old Matilda that I never tell her anything at all for fear of hurting her feelings." These are the kind of mediæval, even arboreal, jests that one gets a little tired of. And one needs a real conviction as to sincere characterization before one can enjoy the young lady who keeps asking: "Have you worn your liver pad?" "Have you rubbed your head with the lotion every night?" As a shameless playwright, Mr. Shaw knows that these lines are laugh-getters, and he knows it is expedient to pick up laughs. That is not in itself a monstrosity, but a play has to be extremely witty to redeem such witticism. For all its exhibition of conventional inconsistency and pretence and mindlessness, Getting Married is hardly the play.

Mrs. George is a thrilling person. "Her beauty is wrecked, like an ageless landscape ravaged by long and fierce war. Her eyes are alive, arresting and haunting; and there is still a turn of delicate beauty and pride in her indomitable chin; but her cheeks are wasted and lined, her mouth writhen and piteous. The whole face is a battlefield of the passions, quite deplorable until she speaks, when an alert sense of fun rejuvenates her in a moment, and makes her company irresistible." A play that lived up to Mrs. George, and kept the discussion of marriage in the hands of persons worth considering, would have had greatness. As it is, Mrs. George provides a moment of greatness in her intranced speech. Mr. Shaw is not a poet. His rhetoric is always the rhetoric of noble intention rather than inspiration. It is built, not born. But there is beauty and valor in every line of that rhapsodic utterance—"When you loved me I gave you the whole sun and stars to play with. I gave you eternity in a single moment, strength of the mountains in one clasp of your arms, and the volume of all the seas in one impulse of your souls. A moment only; but was it not enough?" If Mr. Shaw rises by climbing, he never rose to a greater height.

On this summit Getting Married does not stand. Mr. Faversham and Mr. Cherry and, in some ways, Miss Crosman, did better by their author than any playgoer was likely to expect. But the total result was decidedly short of happiness. What is happiness to a propagandist like Mr. Shaw? He expressly disavows happiness as a decent human consideration in that magnificent preface to Getting Married which says so much more than the play. He may be right about matrimonial happiness, but about theatrical he is dangerously wrong, and playgoers can fairly blame him for not having deepened his characters or heightened his wit.

F. H.

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The Artstruck Englishman

Men of Letters, by Dixon Scott. With an introduction by Max Beerbohm. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. Net.

TO an Irishman there is always something indecent in the way an Englishman takes to art, when he does take to it. He worships it; exalts its artifices above its inspirations; makes Gods of its frail and ridiculous human instruments; pontificates and persecutes in its name; and ends in delirium and drunkenness, which seem to him the raptures of a saint's vigil. Swinburne's article on Victor Hugo in the Encyclopaedia Britannica is quite a mild example, though it repeats the word "deathless" as often as a Jingo war editor repeats the word "unflinching." The idolatry of the Bible, which has played such a curious part in British history, is really a worship of literary art: no other nation speaks of "the Book of Books" as if the phrase were in the Athanasian Creed, just as no other nation stands up in the concert room when the Hallelujah chorus is sung. There are moments when a sober man wants to shake the idolator and talk to him like a Dutch uncle, or like Lady Macbeth when she said to her blithering ghostridden spouse, "When all's said, you look but on a stool."

I am myself a literary artist, and have made larger claims for literature—or at any rate put them forward more explicitly—than any writer of my generation as far as I know, claiming a continuous inspiration for modern literature of precisely the same character as that conceded to the ancient Hebrew scriptures, and maintaining that the man of letters, when he is more than a mere confectioner, is a prophet or nothing. But to listen for a writer's message, even when the fellow is a fool, is one thing: to worship his tools and his tricks, his pose and his style, is an abomination. Admire them by all means just as you admire the craft of the masons and the carpenters and sculptors who built your cathedral; but don't go inside and sing Te Deums to them.

Dixon Scott was an exceedingly clever young man, with a most remarkable specific literary talent. Reading his criticisms is like watching revolver practice by a crack shot: the explosiveness of the style and the swiftness of the devastation hide the monotony of the mood and method. His longest and most deeply felt effort was an essay on William Morris: his most elaborated, an essay on me. When it first appeared in The Bookman, I read it with the chuckle of the old hand whose professional tricks have landed a young one in a transport of innocent enthusiasm. But I was finally shocked by his preposterous reversal of the natural relative importance of manner and matter. He quoted a long sentence of mine, which derived a certain cumulative intensity from the fact that it was an indictment of civilization, as a specimen of style, and then, with an amazingly callous indifference to the fact that he, like the rest of us, was guilty on all its counts, simply asked, with eager curiosity, and a joyous sense of being the very man to answer the question, "Now, what pose is this?" It was very much as if I had told him the house was on fire, and he had said, "How admirably monosyllabic!" and left the nursery stairs burning unheeded. My impulse was to exclaim, "Do you suppose, you conceited young whelp, that I have taken all that trouble, and developed all that literary craft, to gratify your appetite for style? Get up at once and fetch a bucket of water; or at least raise an alarm, unless you wish me to take you by the scruff of the neck and make you do it. You call yourself a critic: you are a mere Fancier."

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This, I think, is what, in Touchstone's phrase, obliges me to disable Scott's judgment. It comes out extravagantly in his essay on Morris, which is a long and sincerely felt protest against the author of The Defence of Guinevere maturing into the author of Sigurd, of a Dream of John Ball, and of News from Nowhere. It is like a man complaining that his wife does not remain a girl: a sort of *lèse humanité* against which human honor revolts. The excuse is, of course, the writer's youth.

That maturity involves quite poignant losses to set against its consummations is only too true. Mozart's Abduction from the Seraglio is tedious and resourceless compared to his Don Juan; but it has a charm and freshness that Mozart could not recapture, young as he was when he died. To ask Morris to give Sigurd the charm of Guinevere—a charm of helplessness, weakness, innocence, boyish romance—was like asking any poet of fifty to give us an Alastor: he could not if he would, and, what is perhaps more to the point, he would not if he could, because no man will go back on a good bargain merely because one of the coins he had to pay away was a sixpence he had once tried to break with a girl sweetheart. We must put up with these inevitables; and Dixon Scott's complaint that Morris did not spend life defending Guinevere is no more sensible than an essay complaining that General Douglas Haig can no longer cut a figure as a sprinter. But when the youth takes it so seriously that he must needs proceed to set up the most laboriously ingenious explanations of why Morris and the rest of us deliberately stifled our instincts; corrupted our natures; and perverted our talents instead of going on writing Guineveres and Alastors for him: in short, of why we grew up expressly to spite him, he goes over the edge

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of silly-cleverness into the abyss of folly. One has a startled sense of the artist conceived as a pet lapdog for the dilettanti having his growth stunted by a diet of gin in order that he may be a more amusing monster than Nature made him.

I should not quarrel with this folly if it were recognized as such; for a good deal of new country is discovered by simply going astray. The straight and narrow path has been so often explored that we all go a little way down the paths of danger and destruction merely to see what they are like; and even the paths of tomfoolery may lead to a view or two. Dixon Scott had qualifications for such rambling which made him a very agreeable critic, and sometimes a very useful one. Chief among these was his knowledge of the natural history of the artist, which preserved him from many current journalistic sillinesses. To take a personal example, the fact that I am an Irish Protestant, and that I published a volume called Three Plays for Puritans, has created a legend about the gloomy, sour, Sabbath-ridden, Ulster-Covenanting home in which I was brought up, and in which my remarkable resemblance to St. Paul, St. Anthony, and John Knox was stamped on me. To Dixon Scott this was as patently absurd as an assumption that the polar bear owes his black fur to his Negro parents. He at once picked out the truth and packed it into the statement that I am the son of Donizetti's Lucrezia Borgia. (As a matter of fact I was brought up in an atmosphere in which two of the main constituents were Italian opera and complete freedom of thought; and my attitude to conventional British life ever since has been that of a missionary striving to understand the superstitions of the natives in order to make himself intelligible to them.) All through this book, in dealing with me, with Wells, with Kipling, with Houghton, he is saved again and again by his knowledge of the sort of animal the artist is in his nonage. Unfortunately his knowledge stops there. He does not understand the artist's manhood; protests with all his soul against the inevitable development; and always, however ridiculously, sets up the same theory that the shy romantic dreamer has put on a mask, which, as he wittily says, gets so hard pressed upon his face by popular applause that it moulds his very features to its shape. Shaw, Kipling, Wells & Co. are timid children desperately playing at being strong but by no means silent men; and he tries to strip our masks off, and show our real faces, which, however, are all the same face, and a very obvious doll's face at that. His mistake is in taking the method of nature, which is a dramatic method, for a theatrical pose. No doubt every man has a shy child in him, artist or no artist. But every man whose business it is to work upon other men, whether as artist, politician, advocate, propagandist, organizer, teacher or what not, must dramatize himself and play his part. To the laborer who merely digs and vegetates, to the squire who merely hunts and eats, to the mathematician and physicist, these men of the platform and the tribune may seem affected and theatrical; but when they themselves desire to impress their needs or views on their fellows they find that they, too, must find a pose or else remain paralyzed and dumb. In short, what is called a pose is simply a technical condition of certain activities. It is offensive only when out of place: the artist who brings his pose to the dinner table is like the general who puts his sword, or the dentist who puts his forceps, beside his plate just to show that he has one. He cannot, however, always leave it behind him. Queen Victoria complained that Gladstone talked to her as if she were a public meeting; but surely that is the way in which a prime minister should address a queen when affairs of state are on the carpet. Lord Melbourne's pose may have been more genial and human; but so it would when he addressed a public meeting doubtless. Dixon Scott takes this very simple natural phenomenon, and, guessing at once that he can be very clever about it if he begins by being very stupid, pays that price for being clever. It it monstrously stupid to try to foist Morris, Wells, and Kipling (to say nothing of myself) on the reader as creatures with guilty secrets, all their secrets being the same secret: to wit, that they are not Morris, Wells, and Kipling at all, but sensitive plants of quite another species. Still, on that stupid assumption he writes very cleverly, sometimes with penetrating subtlety. But as he remains the Fancier, he is never sound, and is only quite satisfactory when dealing with pure virtuosity, which he finds only in Max Beerbohm's Zuleika. And then he has to leave you in ignorance of the fact that Max is the most savage Radical caricaturist since Gillray, and that Zuleika is only his play, not his work.

It was a kind and devoted act of Mr. St. John Adcock to collect and edit these reviews, and very modest of him to allow Max to take the stage as their introducer. They are the best monument their untimely slain author could have desired. I have no space here to do more than point out the limitations of Dixon Scott's view of art, and how the young literary voluptuary flourished at the expense of the critic of life. But I can guarantee the book as being not only frightfully smart in the wrong places, but, in the best of the right ones, as good as it is in the nature of the best journalistic criticism to be. G. B. S.

The Ethics of Economic Reform

Distributive Justice, by John A. Ryan, D.D. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.50.

NOW when the rage for departmentalizing human knowledge is spent, the candid economist must recall with some sense of shame his early attempts to exclude ethical elements from his scientific domain. "It is our business to determine what is and what will be; what ought to be concerns other specialists." How stupid this sounds to-day! As a matter of fact economics never succeeded in winning its freedom from ethics. Only little men ever were able to discuss child labor, the sweating system, monopolistic extortion, without generating at least a modicum of moral heat. Indeed, it would hardly be too much to say that the chief impetus to economic study, ever since the days of Adam Smith, has been the urgency of economic and social reforms that have no meaning apart from ethics.

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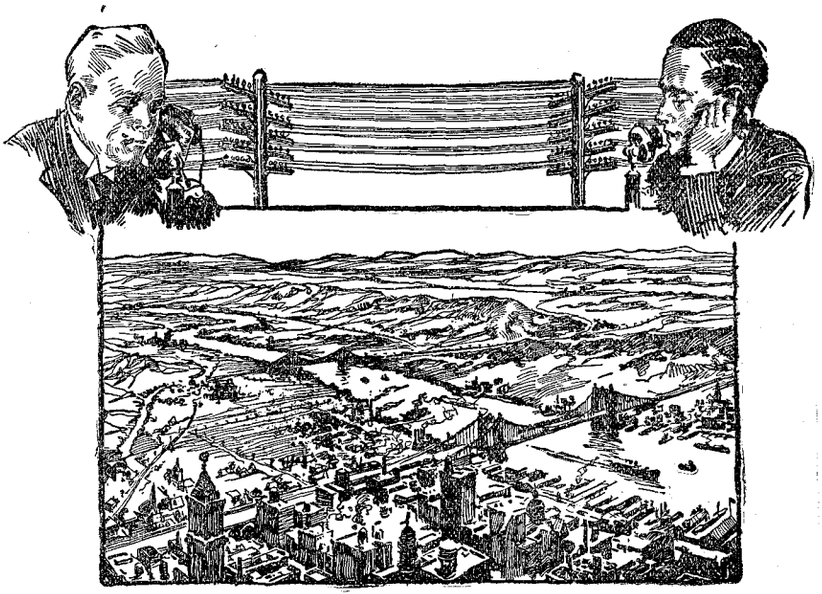

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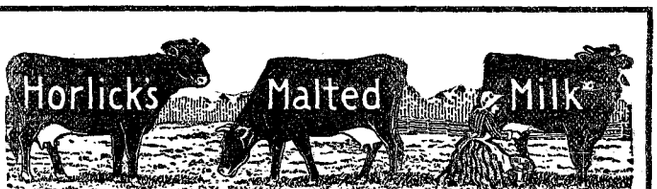

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good mathematical economist, one infers from his handling of certain aspects of the interest problem and of "economic causation"; but a man may be an excellent economist without mathematical gifts. Dr. Ryan's ethical scholarship is also sound. It is essentially a Catholic ethics that he professes, and therefore conservative. This makes it all the more significant that Dr. Ryan's book should be worthy of adoption as a manual of radical economic reform.

The one postulate Dr. Ryan requires the reader to accept is the inherent worth of human personality, the equal right of one personality with every other to existence and to what gives existence human value. From this postulate Dr. Ryan, by practically flawless logical processes, derives all his conclusions as to the rights and wrongs of the present distribution of income. Rights to wages, to profits, to interest, to rent are subjected rigorously to the test of human welfare. A priority of right, naturally, is accorded to wages. "Every man who is willing to work has an inborn right to sustenance from the earth on reasonable terms or conditions." That is, spending such effort, exercising such intelligence, as may reasonably be expected, every man has a right to such wages as will provide for himself and his family the necessaries and most general comforts of life. In the concrete, this means the living wage, as defined by the best qualified social investigators. On what ground is the right based? "On the same ground that validates his right to life, marriage, or any of the other fundamental goods of human existence. On the dignity of personality."

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Rights to profits, interest and rent stand on an inferior footing. When they conflict with the right to a living wage, they have no validity. This principle Dr. Ryan applies not only institutionally, but to the action of individuals. The business man has no right to interest on his capital unless he pays a living wage. He is not a merchant, buying labor as a commodity. He is a social functionary, a leader in the common enterprise of creating goods, and a distributor of the price received for them. His primary obligation is to make a just distribution, and what justice would he display if he voted himself interest on capital while withholding an essential part of their living from his co-workers? He may justly assert a prior claim to a fair living for himself, and no more. To be sure, a business man may weary of a profitless enterprise and withdraw his capital to a more remunerative field. This would be within his moral right; Dr. Ryan thinks that even so his action would be conducive to the worker's wel-

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1917-AMERICAN RIGHTS-1798

Miss Agnes Repplier and Dr. Lyman Abbott have declared war on Germany. They are not alone in taking this historic step. They speak for the "American Rights League," which counts among its members Talcott Williams, the Rev. Randolph H. McKim, Prof. William Gardner Hale, and other "clear-headed, far-sighted, patriotic Americans." Their manifesto of February 12 declares that "The acts of war have been consummated. . . . It is no longer a question as to whether there shall be war with Germany. There is war with Germany."

As we look back at American history, we realize how unfortunate it is that the American Rights League was not organized earlier. It probably would have been able to clear the heads, lengthen the sight, and buck up the patriotism of George Washington, President Adams and the American Congress from 1793 to 1800, when the United States was hovering on the verge of war with France.

The American Rights League will remember that the great European war was then in progress. It was Washington who declared in 1793 that the United States should "pursue a conduct friendly and impartial to the belligerent powers." And although American sentiment was overwhelmingly in favor of France and against England, our country refused to go to war with a nation with whom we had no quarrel.

By 1796, the depredations of France, aimed at England, but falling heavily upon us, had become intolerable. Our ships were sunk, American merchandise was destroyed, American lives were lost. Marine insurance rose to prohibitive rates. In July, the French Directorate passed an act providing that Americans found on belligerent ships *should be treated as pirates.* In 1797, Mr. Pickering, our Secretary of State, protested against the spoliation and maltreatment of our vessels by French ships of war. He protested against an embargo on vessels at Bordeaux, against condemnation of ships and cargoes under French marine ordinances incompatible with treaties. Meanwhile, American citizens were captured on American ships by French men of war and forced to serve in the French navy. Finally the Directorate in 1798 decreed that its navy might seize all vessels loaded with goods coming from the enemy's ports, no matter of what nationality or to whom consigned.

Still there was no war.

Washington was succeeded by John Adams as President, but Washington's policy prevailed. Neutrality was observed under intense provocation, and in spite of an abundance of such sentiment as is now represented by the American Rights League.

Finally, for the protection of our interests, Congress declared a policy of Armed Neutrality against France. A larger navy was recruited; reprisals against French aggressions were authorized; our commerce was convoyed; we had naval engagements with French ships; we took prisoners, and they took prisoners. Other incidental hostilities occurred. But the policy of Washington was adhered to by Adams, by the Congress, and by the people of the United States. *We did not go to war with France, because we had no real quarrel with France; and because the people realized that the injuries done to us were not aimed at us, but were a part of the terrific struggle of Europe.* Patiently, courageously, Washington and Adams and the Congress held true patriotism above jingoism. We remained at peace, under huge financial loss, under loss of life, under the imputation of cowardice. And history has justified us.

It is a pity we had no American Rights League then.

If you want to spread this point of view widely over the country, send money at once to COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRATIC CONTROL (formerly Emergency Office), Room 1034, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. It will be used for nothing else.

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fare. Perhaps: but the question is one of mathematical economics, to which Dr. Ryan's method is not well adapted.

Assuming that living wages are paid, the capitalist has a contingent right to the surplus. It is no better than that of the worker, who has a right to take more than a living wage, if he can get it. The landowner's right to rent is on the same footing as the capitalist's right to interest. Assuming that the men who work the soil, tenants or hired laborers, obtain fair livings, the landowner has a right to rent, if he can get it. The assertion of the Single Taxers that rent is under all circumstances an unjust income is examined at length, and rejected. But Dr. Ryan strongly urges the wisdom of increment taxes to check speculative gains, and progressive taxes to break up large holdings. Even discriminatory taxes on land, as compared with improvements, seem desirable to him. He would have the state hold all forest and mineral lands and the sources of hydro-electric power. Public service monopolies should also be owned by the state, and all other monopolies should be subjected to close regulation.

Inequalities of fortune obtaining to-day are regarded by Dr. Ryan as a serious evil. To place a limit upon accumulation he does not consider a violation of the natural right to private property; he merely questions its social expediency. Heavily graduated incomes and inheritance taxes appear to him not only just but socially expedient. The evils of an inequitable distribution of wealth might be obviated by the practice of private morality. One whose income exceeds the requirements of decent living is morally bound to distribute the surplus in philanthropy.

It is possible to quarrel with Dr. Ryan on matters of detail. In some respects his ethics seems not sufficiently socialized. Grant that the worker has a right to a living wage: does the correlative obligation of assuring it rest upon the employer, who may be unable to meet the obligation, or upon the state, which no doubt has the required ability? Dr. Ryan conceives of the obligation as resting upon the employer, but has an alternative conception of the state's obligation in the premises. The former conception is not necessary to the author's conclusions, and is the origin of whatever questionable economic reasoning the book contains. The blemish, however, is minor and it does not detract from the author's merit in presenting the most comprehensive and dignified existing treatise on the ethics of economic reform.

A. S. J.

Recent Publications

A Circuit Rider's Widow, by Corra Harris. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. $1.35.

HERE are recorded the observations of Mary Thompson, pillar and historian of the Methodist church in Berton, and incidentally the historian of the whole village, so closely are the two narratives interwoven. The book is a strange land for one whose religious experience is limited to a childhood acquaintance with the easy formalism of a state church. One entered the cathedral only for milestone events, leaving it with memories of dusk and stained-glass solemnity and things beautifully extraneous to human routine. But in the chalked bareness of this Methodist chapel pulses the life of Berton. Its activities and policies radiate from there. Orthodoxy is an integral part of every day. The doctrinal tinge of a sermon, the rag-carpet made by the Aid Society, the sweep of a revival,

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the new hat of the minister's wife, an ungodly hat "with a flagrant bow raised like an iridescent hallelujah on the side," of such are Berton's intellectual and emotional excitements. Mary Thompson, or Mrs. Harris, one surmises their identity, makes even a stranger understand them. She has a homely deftness of simile and a saving grace of wit; therefore she may be pardoned her occasional lapses into semi-philosophical platitudes. One can skip those, and then regret with her that no early church histories were written by women, for "they would have been most awfully faithful to just the personal lives of the Apostles."

Memories of India, by Lieut.-General Sir Robert Baden-Powell, K.C.B., Philadelphia: David McKay. $3.50.

IF anyone doubts the strength of the instincts of belligerency, let him consider the number of soldiering and sporting books which never lack an audience. Sir Baden-Powell's gossip about big game and his anecdotes about guerilla warfare in the Indian hills have been gathered together into a book extensively illustrated by himself, a book which is a tribute to our imperishable interest in blood-letting. The author reproaches Kipling for neglecting to mention in "The Jungle Book" the animal king of the country, the boar, and there are many accounts of the pleasant and exciting diversion of pig-sticking. The tiger, too, comes in for a few killings; an elephant fight also fills several breathless pages. Fights of all kinds are crowded between the covers. Occasionally the natives are mentioned, and a fine picture of the friendly indifference either to the spirit or aspirations of the various tribes on the part of the old-fashioned English subaltern emerges. But it is the tingle of blows which gives the otherwise commonplace narrative its justification.

The Crushed Flower, and Other Stories. Translated from the Russian of Leonid Andreyev, by Herman Bernstein. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $1.50.

YURA was six years old and to him the world was enormous. His father was ten yards tall at least, his mother three yards, the neighbor's angry dog thirty yards. An hour was like ten years. His father often seemed sad, and one evening Yura found his mother in the arbor. A strange man was kissing her. Yura ran away in horror. At first he did not want her to put him to bed that night, but he finally threw his arms around her neck. "She was his mother, after all. There was nothing to be done. But how painful, how bitterly painful." And what else is there to do but forgive, for one to whom the world is enormous and the trees infinitely huge and the neighbor's angry dog thirty yards tall? Such is subtle psychology of the title story in this collection. The others are similar in workmanship, emphasizing character rather than action or plot. "On the Day of the Crucifixion" tells how Ben-Tovit went to Golgotha at nightfall to see the three crosses, and how it was growing so dark there was not much to see, and how he would rather anyway tell his neighbor about the new little donkey he had bartered for an old one or about the terrific toothache he had the previous day. "Judas Iscariot and Others" reveals the traitor as alternately a hypocrite, a faltering weakling, a madman, but always tragic in his humanity. Altogether, the stories are remarkable, in their simplicity, beauty, and sheer horror.

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Contributors

to this issue

CHARLES A. BEARD is professor of politics at Columbia University, and is the author of Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy, Contemporary American History, Economic Interpretation of the Constitution, and other books on government and history.

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VACHEL LINDSAY is a well known American poet, and author of The Art of the Moving Picture.

G. B. S. is, of course, Bernard Shaw, who needs no identification.

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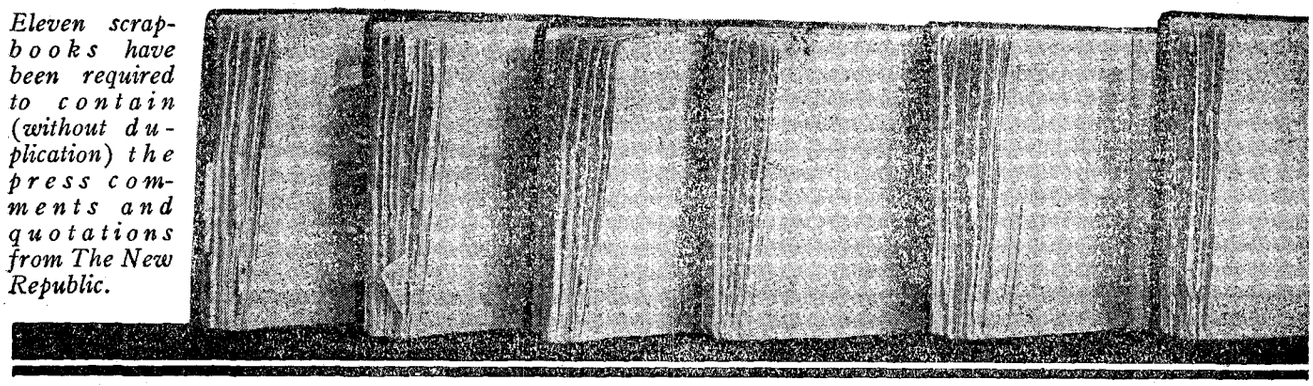

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